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ABSTRACT

This volume consists of the following articles: (1) "Introduction: Language Is the Link," by June K. Phillips; (2) "Foreign Language Study for a World in Transition," by Harold G. Shane and David L. Silvernail; (3) "Our Language Heritage: A Historical Perspective," by Shirley Brice Heath; (4) "Communication and Beyond," by Diane W. Birckbichler; (5) "New Curricula Connections," by Maurice W. Conner; (6) "Responding to Today's Issues," by Beverly M. Enwall; (7) "Making Crosscultural Connections," by Donald K. Jarvis; (8) "Teacher Education for a Changing World," by Leona G. Bailey; (9) "The 'L' Connection: The Interdependence of Second Language Programs," by John F. Kunkle; (10) "Testing: A Vital Connection," by Randall L. Jones; and (11) "Assessing Attitudinal Outcomes," by John A. Lett, Jr. Indexes to persons cited and to topics and institutions cited are also provided. (EM)

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The Language Connection:

From the Classroom to the World

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The Language Connection:

From the Classroom to the World

Edited by June K. Phillips

In conjunction with the American Council
on the Teaching of
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Foreword

The direction of the ACTFL Foreign Language Education Series is firmly established with the appearance of Volume 9. The task continues to be the annual collection, analysis, synthesis, and interpretation of the work of the profession. The Series also continues the effort to broaden its appeal to classroom teachers and researchers alike.

While the time constraints in the creation of such a series are always demanding, the changes involved in the preparation of this volume—changes in format and in editor—called for special cooperation and assistance. The constant support and expert advice from C. Edward Scebold at ACTFL Headquarters was greatly appreciated, as was the availability of the former editors Gilbert Jarvis and Alice Omaggio in answering questions and giving encouragement so as to make the transition as smooth as possible. At the National Textbook Company, Marcia Seidletz was helpful throughout the year, and with Janice Feldstein provided editorial assistance in the production of the volume. At Indiana University of Pennsylvania, Connie Hurd graciously undertook many clerical tasks, and a special thanks is due to Stanley Heinricher, who as editorial assistant participated in all phases of the editing.

Development of the theme and chapter plan evolved from intensive sessions of the Advisory Committee for Volume 9. Never has a more energetic group assembled to accomplish its task so willingly! The individuals responsible for launching this volume were: David Cox, Edwin Cudecki, Frank Grittner, Gilbert Jarvis, Helene Loew, Alice Omaggio, and C. Edward Scebold.

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Introduction: Language is the link

June K. Phillips
Indiana University of Pennsylvania

Evidence of our interdependence surrounds us. Each cup of coffee, each bite of shrimp, each gallon of gasoline makes us acutely aware of the effect of international commodities and resources on our daily lives. Environmental pollution may sometimes seem to intrude less personally, but its consequences may be further reaching. The Chinese set off a nuclear explosion, and halfway around the world Pennsylvania's milk registers high levels of radioactive contamination. A press of the button on an aerosol can, repeated an infinite number of times, could destroy the precious ozone layer protecting our planet. During the unusual winter of 1976–77, the eastern United States was struck with severe cold and a continual blanket of snow, while the West suffered drought and mild temperatures. Climatologists, although unable to account for the phenomenon, traced a global pattern in which the areas of drought or flood, of extreme heat or cold occurred in balanced sequences when viewed on a worldwide scale. Earthquakes in China were followed by upheavals in the Philippines, those in Romania by others in Iran; overlapping geodetic plates shift in one spot and foreshadow disaster in another.

In every way we are a planet, we are not isolated countries. Our beliefs, our policies, our actions reverberate beyond national boundaries. We have recognized that our needs compel us to establish economic, industrial, and diplomatic ties, yet much of our population is ignorant of the tie that ultimately binds—the *language connection.*

Volume 9 of the ACTFL Foreign Language Education Series addresses the concept of language as the link in a globally interdependent community. The Series has become a comprehensive endeavor with a view toward the future as well as a review of the past. In *Learning for Tomorrow*, Toffler

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(6) calls for "education in the future tense," a thesis based on the assumption that all education *springs* from images of the future and all education *creates* images of the future. As we enter this third century of American history, the education profession at large, and we as foreign language educators in particular, must take this opportunity to reassess our goals in anticipation of what this country, and indeed, this planet, is to become. Education is not alone in this quest; government leaders, industrialists, sociologists, and all thinking individuals are realizing that the future demands global solutions to problems and world-wide cooperation for progress. The phrase "global interdependence" has entered the current literature of many branches of knowledge.

"Interdependence" denotes a relationship of mutual dependence. It differs from *independence* and *dependence* in its implication for a two-directional approach; one nation or culture is neither wholly a recipient (and therefore dependent upon others) nor totally a donor (and therefore independent of others). Linguistically, interdependence stresses the give-and-take of real communication. Foreign language learning is a vital connection in the interdependent relationships of the next century, since true interaction can occur only where each community experiences the language and lifestyle of the other, where no group achieves dominance by imposing its language structure on the other. The future will demand a different role for language learning than did the past. Americans have been lulled into thinking that the rest of the world will speak English. Language imposition has long been a tool for asserting control over a people. Witness the efforts of colonial powers to establish their language in territories under their control. Yet by that very action they placed themselves at a disadvantage and at the mercy of the bilingual interpreter. In *The Ugly American* Lederer and Burdick (3) base many of their stories around the severed language connection that plagued Americans operating in the Far East. They quote John Foster Dulles as stating: "Interpreters are no substitute. It is not possible to understand what is in the minds of other people without understanding their language, and without understanding their language it is impossible to be sure that they understand what is on our minds" (pp. 275–76).

Yet how far have we come? The hue and cry for language learning generated by Sputnik in the fifties and sixties has given way to an era in which we once again are frantically seeking philosophical and financial support for our discipline. Even as our communication networks become increasingly complex and global in scope, foreign language enrollments decline in the United States schools.

It will be the responsibility of the foreign language profession to "spread the word" about the language connection, for even the "futurists" have developed scenarios for an interdependent world which ignore the essential role of language communication. Toffler (5) has coined a new ailment with his "future shock," but then he immediately took up the task of defining the skills needed to face the future; he sees the schools' mission as one of developing coping skills, the ability to adjust to change, and help in learning how to learn. No mention is made of a role for foreign languages. Toffler failed to state the contribution of language learning to these processes, and, more critically, he failed to assess the inherent insularity of the monolingual's world.

In its bicentennial project—the reassessment of the seven cardinal principles for education originally set forth in 1918—the National Education Association forecast an interdependent global community predicated on principles of justice achieved through the educational process (4). Throughout the NEA report second language learning and crosscultural understandings are key areas for implementing the seven principles. The report unfortunately *does not* specify that link—it provides the framework, it is for us to paint in the language picture.

For example, the second principle "revisited" deals with a "command of fundamental processes," and the statement suggests development of:

1. *Skills in humanistic processes*, including human relations skills, group process skills, and those based on crosscultural and multiethnic insights
2. *Neoacademic skills*, including a knowledge of sources, the understanding and use of computer languages, and improved ability to cope with increasing specialization through a command of cross-disciplinary understandings
3. *Anticipatory skills*, represented by the ability to (a) see relationships and make correlations; (b) sort, weigh, and then act on data; (c) evaluate choices and make decisions wisely despite the current glut in information and misinformation; and (d) understand how power functions at various levels from neighborhoods to international capitals (p. 62)

As teachers of a virtually content-free subject—indeed all content is adaptable to the learning of skills and communication in a second language—we can find connections among all these fundamental processes and foreign language learning. Our task lies in defining the role and potential of foreign language learning in the achievement of those goals for our colleagues in education and the public at large.

The first skill delineated above concerns development of humanistic processes. The foreign language classroom is a fertile environment for growth both in clarifying personal values and in maintaining group relationships. The theory and practice of the humanistic, personalized, and/or individualized classroom have been firmly established in the foreign language education literature and in this Series for some time; the teaching of culture in the foreign language curriculum has been geared to everyday lifestyles in an effort to promote insights into the similarities and contrasts of all peoples; more recently an emphasis on the "ends"—communication—has gained equal status with exhaustive methodological study of the "means." Our students can and do develop skills in humanistic processes as they learn to communicate in a different code.

The second area pinpoints the important link between highly specialized technical skills and the broader-based understandings gained by experience in the humanities. Because the language component is a key element in most disciplines, the foreign language classroom is in a unique position to "connect" or cross with any other discipline, for any skill, any experience that can be shared in one language can be expanded in another. The thrust of education must look to the future, and a movement "forward to the basics" would recognize second language acquisition as a bridge to individual growth and international cooperation.

Whereas we may need to assert our position as one of the "basics," two important documents have underscored the desirability of a renewed emphasis for foreign language learning. The United States, as a signer of the Helsinki Agreement, has committed itself to the encouragement of "the study of foreign languages and civilizations as an important means of expanding communication among peoples for their better acquaintance with the culture of each country, as well as for the strengthening of international cooperation . . ." (2, Section d). The agreement also proposes a system of teacher and information exchange and a range of activities to promote language learning. While it is not a life-and-death issue like human rights, the foreign language case is part of the Helsinki parcel and should be emphasized as such.

The American Council of Education Report (1) has ramifications and recommendations for foreign language learning, particularly on the college and university level. Explicit in its support for language study, the report concludes that "although some progress has been made in increasing public understanding of global interconnections, the American educational system —viewed in the large—is woefully backward in helping to prepare the nation's people for effective coping in a thoroughly interdependent world" (p. v). Among the specific courses of action recommended to the federal government were: reauthorization (but with newly designated emphases) of Title VI of the NDEA, use of excess foreign currency funds for development of teaching materials and educational exchange programs, funding to promote interdisciplinary programs, and a presidential commission on foreign language training.

It is also time for a new rationale for foreign language study, a rationale that emphasizes the long-range outcomes that accrue to the second language learner. This volume will focus on that learner today—in the classroom, in the community, in the world—as he or she develops skills in language use, experience in communicating ideas and feelings, and insights into other cultures. Be assured that the futuristic orientation of the volume grounds itself in classroom-tested procedures and materials which are analyzed for their potential in furthering communicative skills and coping abilities that better prepare students to live in an interdependent world. The authors of these chapters, each working independently, share a vision of the future which is evidenced by the consensus of their individual product. They realize that the future is *now* and educating for tomorrow means meeting the challenge today.

Harold Shane and David Silvernail probe the international issues of the day in order to predict the direction education must take for the future. Their perspective is broad and insightful as they set the stage for a world in transition.

Shirley Heath traces the "roots" of our language heritage in the United States; knowledge of the historical perspective clarifies the political, economic, and social forces that lie behind the status of second language learning today.

Diane Birckbichler explores the many techniques and procedures to promote communication in the foreign language classroom, but she takes one giant step beyond to investigate the theory of creativity. Her approach to integrating skill development with creative language activities is action-oriented and will stimulate teachers to be more imaginative as well.

Maurice Conner breaks out of the traditional classroom to study curriculum as it operates in other areas of the institution, the community, the world. He asks us to consider the prerequisites and constraints of immersion and interdisciplinary programs, festivals, and camps.

Beverly Enwall has taken up the reins of what we hope is a continuing chapter in the ACTFL Series, that of responding to the ever-changing, ever-the-same issues of the day. She specifically addresses the need for public awareness, professional unity, and curricular concerns; her responses are gleaned from the field where active people have tackled problems with imagination, dedication, and hard work.

Donald Jarvis has succeeded superbly in blending the theory and practice of teaching culture so that the goal of crosscultural understanding, often expounded, seldom understood, becomes a realistic, realizable objective. The concrete samples and methodological considerations emphasize the pervasive role culture continues to assume in language teaching.

Leona Bailey evaluates the many facets of teacher training programs, including a look at the preparation of teaching assistants. Perhaps for the first time, we see a teacher education chapter that addresses the problem of alternative careers, a major concern of the foreign language major whose future will include a constantly changing job market.

John Kunkle has delineated the commonalities of all second language programs in a call for unity. He has carefully shown the areas that would be enriched if each branch were to share in meeting the special needs of each kind of language student.

Randall Jones examines the new direction testing and measurement have taken to meet the need of evaluating communicative competency and communication skills for specific purposes. He perceives a trend toward testing global competency and adapts the work of evaluation experts to techniques that alter traditional classroom approaches.

John Lett has comprehensively dealt with the rationale, the tools, and the interpretation of attitude assessment. In a cautious yet encouraging chapter, he combines the statistician's concerns and rigid procedures with the teacher's need for knowledge of how students are affected by their foreign language experience.

The power of language to divide people has been attested since biblical times, when a "confusion of tongues"—a Babel—prevented our common endeavors. The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis has claimed that language is even capable of determining our ability to think! Yet the fact that people can and do learn other languages means that they can join together in common understandings and endeavors. If languages serve to divide, so might they serve to unite—not in an effort for uniformity—but to make diversity pleasurable and to render global interdependence manageable. So let us explore the language connection as a bridge between the student, the community, and the world; between societies and nations, between today and tomorrow, when our need to cooperate will demand that we think and act across language barriers.

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Foreign language study for a world in transition*

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In every part of the world, thoughtful members of the human community are recognizing that our earth and its people are crossing the threshold of a new era of global interrelatedness and of mutual need. While it is impossible to foresee with precision what the future holds, many of the developments that are shaping the closely interlaced world of tomorrow can be identified readily. Furthermore, these developmental forces have a definite and direct bearing on second language instruction.

Powerful among these forces is the way in which our high-energy consumption technology has impaired the life-sustaining qualities of the planet by polluting air and water, and by depleting many of the world's irreplaceable resources. Also among developments shaping the history of the future

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*This chapter is adapted from the introductory section to the 1977 "Missions" statement of the Indiana University School of Education, a section focusing on teacher education prepared by Messrs. Shane and Silvernail.

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David L. Silvernail (Ed.D., Indiana University) is an Associate Instructor of Education at Indiana University. He has taught social studies on the secondary level and secondary school curriculum on the college level. He has been a research associate for the Phi Delta Kappa Commission on Curriculum Models for Lifelong Learning. His professional affiliations include AERA, ASCD, IASCD, NSSE, PDK, WCCI, and WFS.

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are the ways in which much of humanity is confronted by famine, by regional overpopulation, and by frustrated aspirations for better ways of life. Furthermore, we are endangered by possible nuclear accidents or wars, by "blackmail" through the withholding of natural resources, and by the increasing loss of political freedom.

As Brown, McGrath, and Stokes (3) suggest, these forces and many more are interrelated; hunger and disease are linked to population, energy problems are precipitated by resource depletion and pollution, and nuclear threats result from resource shortages and rising political, social, and economic aspirations. Patently, the problems of human beings *anywhere* have become *everybody's* problems *everywhere*, and we cannot escape the fact of our global interdependence. The big question is, can our species learn to work together during the remaining 24 years we may have in which to design a humane twenty-first century?

Scholars sometimes call a great unsettling cluster of changes such as the ones through which we are passing, a "system break." This label is meant to describe a great discontinuity or a major rechanneling of the course of history. After such a change occurs things are never the same again since the transition is an irreversible one. Among past system breaks were such significant events as the collapse of Rome's Mediterranean empire and, within the memory span of many, the explosion of the first superbomb over Hiroshima in 1945.

In view of the new, unexplored threshold which we are crossing, it becomes important for people everywhere to understand more clearly the variety of reasons *why* a new, interdependent world has emerged. It also is important to give the most careful thought to the broad curricular changes that the recent emergence of interdependence suggests, and to the role of foreign language study in preparing students of all ages for world citizenship. Let us first examine some of the international developments that are creating social, economic, and political havoc for which there is no precedent, and then speculate about desirable curricular changes, and the importance of foreign language study as we strive to create a global community in the next 24 years.

What it means to live in an interdependent planetary culture

The deep roots of global interdependence

Heilbroner (8) has likened the dynamics of change to the growth of a butterfly inside a chrysalis. ". . . when the stir of life is strong enough," he wrote, "it bursts the old structure asunder" (p. 30). Analogously, powerful contemporary stirrings have burst many of society's old structures and caused a new and interrelated world to emerge from the isolated national cocoons of the early twentieth century.

We would single out at least six factors or developments that have contributed to changes in the relationships existing among the world's nation states:

1 Efforts to change the unbalanced human equation of haves and have-nots: the economically superior and the economically disadvantaged
2 The increasing scarcity of planetary raw materials caused by decades of high consumption and aggravated by rapid population growth
3 Inflation and other troublesome economic problems
4 The creation of influential transnational corporations
5 The growing need for international security as nuclear weaponry is acquired by more and more countries
6 Rapid changes in world power structures

Since each of these developments has a bearing on education in the United States schools during the coming decades, we shall examine each in turn before we contemplate their growing influence on the curriculum and foreign language study.

The changing economic equation

The mass media, as well as widespread travel by persons from both developed and less developed countries, have succeeded in bringing to the attention of the third and fourth worlds the economic discrepancies existing between nations and peoples. For instance, Overly and Silvernail (12) reported in 1976 that nations of the West enjoy per capita incomes ranging from roughly $3,000 to $5,000, with the United States having a high of $5,160, while many countries in Africa and Asia had annual per capita incomes of less than $200—for Thailand, $200; for Uganda, $130, and for Afghanistan, only $80. Brown, McGrath, and Stokes (3) report that these discrepancies are becoming even greater as populations increase more rapidly than the gross national product (GNP) of many of these third- and fourth-world countries. A case in point is India where real income per person declined 10 percent in one recent year, from $45 to $41.

Within the past two years there has been rapidly mounting pressure from the less developed nations to close the gap between the haves and the have-nots. Much of this pressure has resulted in calls for the redistribution of the world's wealth and natural resources among the total population of the planet. It is hoped that this can be done according to mutually accepted principles of justice and equity rather than by armed conflict and nuclear blackmail, or by the use of resources, such as oil, as tools for prying loose economic advantages.

The new scarcity

With fewer minerals and less fuel to share, with pollution increasing and the waste-absorbing powers of our environment diminishing, the new scarcity of the 1970s brings with it the need to recognize our interdependence and ties the likelihood of our survival to an economical and mutually beneficial sharing of goods of all kinds.

For instance, America a year or two ago had an abundance of food such as grain and soybeans for export; yet without foreign oil imports or discovery of new domestic oil reserves, the United States could exhaust all of its known reserves in approximately ten years. Conversely, Middle Eastern oil reserves presently are the world's largest, while several countries in that area lack the land or the climate to produce abundant food supplies. Presumably—as argued by Mesarovic and Pestel (11)—neither should be marketed for unreasonable profit or use as political weapons. Rather, they should be considered as resources to be more fairly dispensed for the general welfare of all the community of humankind during a twenty- to thirty-year interval even as these humans endeavor: 1) to clean up our fouled ecosystem; 2) to use science and technology to find new ways to provide nuclear, solar, tidal, or thermal sources of energy; 3) to reverse present disastrous population trends; and 4) to diminish the threat of nuclear and biological warfare. Thus, while such irreplaceable fossil fuels and mineral resources remain available—while we buy time by exhausting them further—we should make an all-out transnational effort to find alternative sources of energy and to change present practices until equilibrium can be reached between humankind and nature by reducing overconsumption and waste and limiting population growth.

Inflation and related economic realities

Throughout the world, dollars, pounds, and virtually all monetary units have been subject to inflationary pressures. In some cases the result has been galloping inflation. For instance, in recent years the inflation rate has been 25 percent or higher in the United Kingdom and Italy, and even higher in Argentina and, most recently, in Mexico.

These inflationary trends have a tremendous impact not only on the general well-being of the nations troubled by declining currencies, but on many others. The developing countries obtain less purchasing power in return for their valuable resources as their money becomes inflated, so that more and more dollars are needed to purchase American goods. The United States, as its citizens are painfully aware, has dollars which were worth 100 cents in 1946 and 38 cents in 1976, and as Henderson (9) states, they will be worth only 9 cents in the year 2000, assuming continual 6 percent inflation.

Other world events have revealed that the economic problems in 1977 are by no means limited to inflationary trends. Examples include the international currency crisis in 1971 which, among other things, forced the United States to give up the policy of delivering gold at $35 per ounce to international customers, the 1972–73 food shortages and the 1973–74 oil embargos. These economic facts of life remind us of our global interdependence and of the need for greater transnational cooperation and planning to insure world-wide fiscal stability.

Multinational corporations

Also testifying to our socioeconomic linkages to every quarter of the globe are the activities and investments of multinational or transnational corporations. Toffler (18) reported that in 1973 it was calculated that there were 140 of these giants, with aggregate sales of $380 billion dollars. While precise data are not available, apparently only 16 *countries* had a greater gross national product than General Motors in 1973, and only the U.S.S.R. and the United States had a GNP that topped the total of $380 billion earned by the 140 largest corporate structures.

On the positive side, these gigantic corporate structures can be a great force for peace since they stand to gain more benefit from a well-ordered, free world than from a chaotic one. However, a cautious policy would require the spinning of crisscrossing intercorporate webs to be regulated at the international level to avoid output breakdowns or political meddling. Also, unreasonable profiteering and fiscal irresponsibility must be avoided. The social task before an interdependent globe is to utilize its international business linkages to decrease rather than to accentuate the economic, social, and psychological tensions that distress humankind.

The growing need for security

The world's headlong plunge toward international political insanity has slowed down since 1975, which saw the end of many international involvements associated with the war in Vietnam. Nonetheless, the need for security in the global community remains as great, if not greater, than in the early 1970s, as more and more nations attempt to acquire or develop nuclear weaponry. India has recently joined the nuclear club, and Pakistan has purchased a nuclear reactor from Canada. Other countries that are close to membership include Israel, Egypt, Italy, Spain, Brazil, and Chile; many of these countries have long histories of territorial conflicts.

Considerable danger exists, even while these nations join the superpowers in striving for a more secure world, that people everywhere will first become impatient, then disillusioned, if the machinery devised to increase global peace and greater equity sometimes is imperfect in its operation. Humans in all quarters of the global community simply must recognize that even the most harassing temporary international security problems are preferable to the chain of catastrophies which led to World War II or to the war in Southeast Asia. If humans are fortunate enough to create a sense of international security and begin to experience the growing momentum of desirable changes, such ephemeral problems can be tolerated for a time. There are hopeful signs that we are beginning to create this sense of security and thus may be in the early years of an era during which hard-earned global wisdom can successfully be applied to the international problem of creating a world that is both secure and open.

Emergent changes in the world's power structures

A sixth illustration of an influential element in our present period of transition is the changing, interlocking relationships between industrial development and world-wide patterns of resource distribution. A few decades ago, industrial power in certain developed nations—power manifested in factories and blast furnaces—carried more weight than did a rich array of coal, rubber, tin, ore, or iron in an undeveloped country or region.

But in the past 10 or 15 years, the traditional foundations of international power have changed dramatically. Currently, the natural resources in certain less developed countries are proving to be a greater source of prestige in the world's political arena than established industrial development with inadequate basic resources. While resource-rich lands such as Nigeria or Iran can go through a rapid metamorphosis and become industrialized, industrial giants such as Japan and England are trapped by their reliance on imported raw materials.

One of the features of the new world patterns of economic development probably will be "interdependency relationships" with Japan and the common-market countries on the one hand, and with le[illegible]dustrialized areas which are favored with the resources essential to energy-intensive economies on the other hand. Even nations with rich industrial and natural resources, such as Brazil, Canada, the United States, the U.S.S.R., and the Peoples Republic of China, are a part of the interdependent web. Everyone is dependent on his world neighbors: in 1973 oil furnished 46 percent of United States energy, and our domestic supply, including the offshore and Alaskan reserves, no longer sufficed for our industries, for our transportation and for our heat. By 1985, according, to Brown (2), we will be obligated to import 50 percent of our petroleum needs, and 50 percent of nine of the thirteen basic industrial raw materials. Patently, even the well-endowed countries cannot be entirely self-sufficient in the future.

Possible benefits of global interdependence for the United States

Mankind's need for achieving a mutually beneficial level of carefully planned interdependence is self-evident. A substantial measure of mutual need, even on the part of resource-rich America, already is an accomplished fact. There is no escaping the reality of the oil we must import to keep the wheels of industry turning; no way to ignore the responsibility of the United States in striving to maintain the uneasy peace of the Middle East. At the same time we must recognize that "interdependence" could be warped by the unscrupulous to serve as an ambiguous slogan designed to conceal the danger of unwise involvements and costly commitments overseas. Let us take a hard look at the potential benefits to be found in a world of nations stitched together by the mutual need for planning economic reciprocity and also examine the qualities we as individuals must acquire in order to create a mutually beneficial level of global interdependence.

Possible benefits

When one looks at what the United States has to gain from global human partnerships, the following points come to mind:

1 If our leadership is wise, there is an increased opportunity to discourage totalitarianism by illustrating the effectiveness of democratic processes at the international level
2 There can be coordination of the "gross planetary product" which previously has been exploited more often than it has been reasonably shared
3 The danger of world conflicts can be minimized as the concept of mutual interdependence becomes a guide to conduct
4 Expanding, orderly, and reciprocal trade can help to minimize the threat of "blackmail" by cartels controlling products ranging from corn or coffee to copper and coal
5 Coordinated attacks on common problems such as air and water pollution, exploitation of the world's natural resources, and inflation can be made
6 Presumably, security at the international level can be increased to a point at which the continuing arms race is slowed, the danger of nuclear war or nuclear accidents reduced, and more productive use made of raw materials that presently go into military hardware

The six values listed above are potentially important dividends to be earned by a world that recognizes that there are opportunities in "helping relationships." However, the nature of this global interdependence, whether it is positive or negative, and the degree to which we can reap the dividends we seek, depends upon our ability or inability to create a global sense of community. The future can be a good one, if humans everywhere break with their parochial pasts and become world citizens. For the individual this means:

1 Gaining knowledge, understanding, and appreciation of the different cultures and races of the world
2 Valuing cultural pluralism and diversity in ways of thinking, acting, and feeling
3 Acquiring values and moral standards of conduct which reflect membership in a global community and enhance the well-being of all humankind
4 Acquiring the ability to perceive alternative futures and the consequences of these alternatives
5 Acquiring the ability not only to possess knowledge and skills, but to bring these to bear on the social, political, and economic problems confronting humankind
6 Acquiring the ability and desire to become self-directed lifelong learners and students of the global community

Education can play a major role in developing attitudes of world citizenship. It cannot be accomplished by schooling alone, but it is unlikely to be accomplished without input and action. It seems desirable, therefore, to conjecture about changes in instruction and content that would enhance the contributions of United States school programs to greater understanding of planetary problems and positive citizenship skills before turning our attention to foreign language study as an important ingredient in a global community.

Speculations regarding instructional and curricular changes for an interdependent world

Developments in instructional practice

Undergirding instruction and permeating all teaching and learning there should be a new and emergent system of social ethics—a new body of moral standards which are mandated by contemporary human problems. Fifty years ago the "latent" or "hidden" curriculum created values and instilled the attitudes for which the school stood. These included the work ethic, respect for authority, simplistic concepts of democracy, and so on. In the immediate future these old values need to become more sophisticated and comprehensive; they must be modified to help us cope with the future as society reaches a value consensus on such matters as the need to restore the biosphere and to distribute goods more equitably. In the processes of change, the *work* ethic mentioned above doubtless should become a subordinated component of a broader *social* ethic growing out of new insights with respect to the "limits of growth" and the changes in our lifestyles that those limits demand.

In view of these limits, instruction in tomorrow's schools almost certainly should include these points, many of which were identified through interviews with distinguished world figures (Shane, 15):

1 *A trend from reliance on rote learning to a focus on problem solving.* Information and skills should be developed for *use* and *adaptation* rather than for mere *possession.*
2 *Greater emphasis on "cognitive valuing" in problem solving.* In recent years there has been too little time for persons of all ages and in most lines of work to *think.* It has been our tendency to leap from problem to decision, bypassing cognition and valuing. In the years ahead schools should foster the development of thoughtful planning and valuing in light of the consequences of alternative choices that are considered.
3 *Movement from the highly structured forms of instruction designed for a static world to the more emergent and self-directed approaches needed in a dynamic emerging world.* Differences in learning rates should be more widely recognized, and more heed should be given to motivation, interest, and adaptability rather than to conformity and to group test scores.
4 *Wider recognition for the idea that the learning environment can be made more effective.* Such an approach would recognize that much important knowledge can be acquired on paths that lead beyond the confines of the school and immediate community.
5 *Recognition of the point that valid methods of instruction are different for each learner;* that "equal" treatment may very well mean different treatment for each school client.
6 *Much more emphasis upon cross-subject learning.* This should come with the recognition that the global problems facing humankind are transdisciplinary ones.
7 *More attention given to the self-image of children and youth.* More attention should be given to how children feel about themselves *now* and whether or not they are developing a wholesome motivating role-image for the *future.*

In summary, instruction should develop more specific central tendencies as education—including schooling—is recognized as an indispensable ingredient in meeting the demands and problems of the portentous system break through which the world is moving.

Developments in curriculum content

Among more and more Americans there is a growing realization that we have perhaps two decades in which to begin to change our present high-consumption lifestyles before irreparable harm has been done to the biosphere through pollution and resource depletion. This insight is already causing changes in curricular content, and these changes promise to become more important and more widespread in the coming decades.

Broad curricular content

Curricular content changes most assuredly should reflect a desire:

1 To acquaint learners with the realities of the world situation
2 To build awareness of the need to reverse present threats to freedom and democracy
3 To educate for what Gabor (5) calls an equilibrium society in which consumption and resource restoration are more nearly held in balance
4 To develop the expert knowledge and skills needed in the continuing struggle with hunger, regional overpopulation, nuclear dangers, pollutants, and depletion of basic resources

To some extent, schools and other educational agencies are already at work on these four areas. Despite some overreaction, the mass media have done especially well in depicting the harsh realities of world problems and of threats to democracy, and while the concept of equilibrium is often neglected, United States' schools have great potential for developing the needed technological expertise.

Subject area content

Specific curriculum changes in subject matter fields such as the social studies or science must vary in detail, depending on the age level of learners, but general goals probably should be analogous from early childhood through postsecondary education.

Some of the most interesting curricular developments of the late 1970s and 1980s are likely to take place in the *social studies*, and, at secondary and postsecondary levels, in the social/behavioral sciences. In these areas a deliberate effort should be made to "teach the future"—to develop scenarios describing alternative futures and the choices and consequences that they involve. The development of a world view including the concepts of life and citizenship in a planetary culture, should also be stressed. In many instances the subject-area lines between, say, social studies and science should disappear as the social and technological aspects of dynamic equilibrium and minimum resource degradation become topics of study, and more and more cross-disciplinary.

Particularly in the sciences, relationships among the classic divisions—chemistry, physics, biology—should diminish, and "process" and "application" must be of coordinate importance with traditional content. Conservation, recycling, and the meaning of being *users* rather than *consumers* of material resources should also be future topics of increased importance.

A more comprehensive concept of *communication skills* or *disseminative sciences* has been coming of age for several years and should continue to develop. In the future, it should include a variety of subdivisions, among them language arts, foreign language, literature, media studies, semantics, and mathematics. The influence of language on behavior must draw greater attention as should foreign languages. Indeed, foreign language instruction should be seen as of particular value as the meaning of planetary culture soaks into our consciousness.

As to higher education, within a decade there is an excellent chance that recent developments and events which have linked the world together in an enforced unity will create the need for a variety and level of expertise heretofore assembled only for the development of nuclear power and space flight. We refer to the challenge of developing a transdisciplinary cadre of what Havighurst (7) has called "global servants"—multinational in origin—who would constitute a "survival task force" chosen from among the brightest young people in the world's finest universities.

The curriculum implications for higher education, if the global-servant concept matures, are extensive. There should be a further breakdown of compartmentalized knowledge and an increase in area studies and transdisciplinary inquiry, for example. Student and faculty exchanges should become decidedly more commonplace than in the mid-1970s, and many varied learning experiences should be substituted for traditional course work. However, caution should be exercised lest an uncontrollable international power elite or scientific bureaucracy develop; hence the emphasis should be on global *servant* rather than global *expert.*

In summary, curriculum content in the future is likely to become more process oriented and cross-disciplinary. It should also focus attention on future alternatives and the acquisition of a global approach to the problems facing humankind. Though these curricular changes should clearly permeate all subject areas, let us now turn our attention to the ways in which foreign language study can contribute to the development of world citizenship and a global community.

Foreign language study in an interdependent world

The probable characteristics of tomorrow's world, and the citizenship skills it is likely to demand, suggest that foreign language study has a great deal to offer. Yet the writers have chosen to limit this statement of their convictions for two reasons. First, Chapters 2–10 of this volume are devoted in depth to foreign language study, and second, this chapter was designed to introduce the theme from a global perspective. With this preamble, let us direct the reader's attention, in a context of foreign language teaching, to a few personal inferences drawn from years of study and conjecture about the future.

Cultural pluralism

As we have noted above, humankind is passing through a period of great discontinuity—a period characterized by major national and international issues to be resolved as well as by problems which confront us with the need to reach important decisions. In this uneasy period it is imperative that we build a sense of world community based on crosscultural awareness, and on a shared commitment among the peoples of the world.

Equally important will be the recognition of the differences among humans, a respect for this diversity, and an awareness of the way this diversity expresses itself in alternative perceptions and interpretations of reality. We need, in short, to begin more clearly to sense that people "see and hear with their past cultural experiences"; to understand that persons exposed to the same event or development are likely to internalize and interpret it in different ways.

Foreign language study can help to provide many of these insights into cultural pluralism. In addition it can encourage the development of some of the values and attitudes that are prerequisite to a world perspective. Much of present-day education in all countries emphasizes the processes of building a national identity and respect for national ideals; hence it fosters ethnocentric views (Connell, 4). Foreign language learning—properly conceived and implemented—can significantly expand a wholesome world view and a spirit of outreaching friendliness not only by increasing our understanding of others, but by building respect for difference and an appreciation for the contributions of cultural pluralism in a global society.

Early childhood education

Both experience and research suggest that the early years are crucial ones for children. Soon after a child is born into the world experiences etch on his or her personality a view of reality. By early adolescence that child has developed a whole host of beliefs, values, and attitudes about his or her world, and, as Targ (17) and Rosell (14) report, will have developed many beliefs and attitudes about international politics and about such critical issues as war and peace.

Patently, these impressionable years are crucial ones. Foreign language learning for very young children, hopefully, will expand their *Weltanschauung* by providing information about faraway places and a variety of cultures. In addition, it will foster the development of those positive attitudes and social values that are necessary for building a mutually beneficial *Weltweisheit* which reflects an understanding of global interdependence.

Lifelong learning

The probable world of the future does not support the concept of terminal education that we have had in the past. The need for learning now extends throughout life. This is especially true as we move through the present transitional period and seek to attain a global equilibrium society characterized by a dynamic equilibrium between humankind and its environment. New issues and problems that need resolution will constantly confront us—issues and problems that require new knowledge, new alternatives, and new standards of conduct. Harman (6) reminds us that the decision-makers in the next two decades will not be school children but adults, adults in need of new information and guidance obtained through continuing educational programs. Thus, postsecondary foreign language study should emphasize for adults the same global insights it seeks for more youthful learners. In fine, crosscultural understandings need to receive greater stress than in the past. While there is no substitute for competence in and mastery of a foreign or a second language, *true* competence requires a sense of what others "think and feel" in their native tongue.

Mass media

An increasingly important source of information for young and old alike is the mass media: newspapers, magazines, books, films, and above all, telecommunications. These media bring the realities of the world—both harsh and delightful—directly into our lives. Witness the reports of Middle East conflicts—and the Olympic games, foreign films, and educational programs. It is estimated, on the average, that Americans are exposed to six hours of television programming every day of the year. Lambert and Klineberg (10) also report that television is among the major sources of information about other cultures for young children, and Remy's (13) studies indicated that the young obtain 35 percent of their information and ideas on international affairs through television viewing.

Without question, then, the mass media are among major forces influencing our perceptions of the world. As such they are a potential gold mine of opportunities for educators. These communication systems provide avenues to reach the very young along with housewives and other adults, with programming and information designed, as in Britain's Open University, to foster a wide array of understandings and skills. For foreign language educators, the media can provide opportunities to develop enrichment programs, both in terms of basic foreign language instruction and cultural awareness endeavors. Improved home-based correspondence courses, for example, would increase foreign language learning and the study of exotic cultures for larger and more diverse audiences in the future.

Bilingual instruction

Boorstin (1) states that technology, largely through world-wide television, has created a "ruthless egalitarianism" of experience. In the coming years, as progress is made toward greater global interdependence, it will become increasingly important for persons to retain their ethnicity along with the ability to function within the dominant cultures in which they find themselves. In the Unites States at present, Tanaka (16) states, there are approximately five million children and youth for whom English is not a mother tongue. This figure will, in all likelihood, increase as citizens of Latin America or Mexico migrate to the United States in hopes of finding work and an acceptable standard of living. Furthermore, Mexico's population growth rate is 3.5 percent as compared to 2.0 percent for India, and 50 percent of the Mexican population is under 15 years of age.

These figures illustrate one of the portentous challenges facing American educators in the future: achieving cultural pluralism while providing a base that will help learners to satisfy their economic and social needs within the matrices of the dominant culture. In other words, multiethnic and multicultural learnings are essential ingredients in foreign language study. Programs are needed which provide bilingual and multilingual instruction and simultaneously safeguard the ethnicity of the populations of the United States now and in the future.

Career and occupational education

Career preparation and foreign language study, in all probability, seem likely to become even more intimately related in the near future. One cannot forecast many of the future career opportunities that may develop, but, as Tanaka (16) phrased it, one person who speaks a second language may well be more valuable in many jobs than two people. Even today proficiency in a second language is essential in many government and social-service positions. A recent television news story reported the death of twelve Puerto Rican immigrants in a large tenement-house fire because firemen were unable to clearly communicate escape routes. In business today, many career opportunities already require second language proficiency, and the number of such opportunities seems certain to increase as businesses become even more multinational in their future operations.

These trends, coupled with the prospect that today's youth may change their careers and occupations as many as ten times during their life spans, make foreign language instruction important not only to those preparing to enter the job market for the first time, but also for those adults desiring career changes in the future.

Concluding comment

As a result of their work in the field of futures studies, the writers have endeavored to pin down at least one important point in this chapter. In a world in the throes of rapid and irreversible transitions—a world in which the common experiences of its peoples are converging—there is a new, emergent, tripartite role for teachers of foreign languages. *First,* they need an insightful world view characterized by empathy with others. *Second,* the teachers need to have an even more intimate knowledge of the interrelationships that bridge languages and their cultural dimensions. *Finally,* there is a need to develop a sophisticated concept of broadening functions and increasing opportunities in multiple language study which mandates new, imaginative blends of ideas that transcend traditional schooling. We wish, in the exciting years to come, the best of success to our friends who are the FL experts, and express our appreciation to ACTFL for the privilege of preparing this chapter for volume 9 in the Foreign Language Education Series.

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Our language heritage: A historical perspective

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Introduction

The Constitution of the United States contains no reference to choice of a national language. Early national leaders chose not to identify one language as the official or national standard. The legacy of the colonial and Revolutionary periods included tolerance of diverse languages and abstention from official selection of a specific language for use among the indigenous or of a linguistic norm to be achieved by immigrants. Classical and modern languages played critical roles in the social and political life of the early nation. Separate settlements within the United States maintained their native tongues in religious, educational, and economic institutions; newspapers, schools, and societies provided instructional support for diverse languages. The use of these languages was encouraged by national leaders in recognition of their positive practical and symbolic purposes.

Throughout the nineteenth century, a bilingual tradition existed in public and private schools, newspapers, and religious and social institutions. It was not until the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth

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century that legal, social, and political forces opposed maintenance of languages other than English. A monolingual English tradition was put forward as both natural and national. Since the 1960s, linguistic minorities among widely varying ethnic groups have stressed the multilingual/multicultural nature of the national society. These minorities have pointed out the necessity of bilingualism in education, judicial matters, and the world of work. This reiteration of the need to revitalize the bilingual tradition in the United States has brought forth questions regarding the role of linguistic uniformity in national unity. Both the maintenance of languages other than English among ethnic groups and the teaching of foreign languages to native Americans are central policy issues. Examination of the historical facts surrounding the American linguistic heritage and application of theories of language policy and planning may help to clarify possible future directions for the role of language not only in the classroom but in the pluralistic cultures of the United States and the world.

Does the United States have a language heritage?

In 1743, an unknown citizen of the American colonies (5) argued that English was in peril for those who knew "Common Sense in *English* only." Exaggerated emphases on Latin and Greek and heavy classical ornamentation of English threatened the future of language for the colonial citizenry. In 1753, an irate Benjamin Franklin (47) feared the "Palatine boors" would establish German as the language of Pennsylvania. In 1780, John Adams (4) proposed a national academy to "improve" English and spread it throughout the world. In 1794, the United States is supposed (Mencken, 84) to have narrowly missed having German declared the national tongue. In 1821, a short-lived American Academy of Language and Belles Lettres (58) was formed "to protect the purity and uniformity of the English language." In 1855, a London publication squarely faced the issue of the future language of the United States:

> Does the supremacy of the English language in the United States run any serious risk? Considering the great, and every year increasing number of continental emigrants who bring with them their languages and associations,—considering that the Americans of Anglo-Saxon descent do not exceed *one-third* of the whole population, if indeed, they amount to that—is there no danger that, in course of time, the English tongue may be compelled to yield a part of its ground, and be in some regions, at least, supplanted? And, may not present or future tendencies to widen the political separation of the two countries [England and the United States] have some further effect on this, their great common bond of union? (Bristed, 20, p. 75).

Early in the next century, the possibility of language diversity leading to political separation was once again raised. This time, however, the question centered not on the issue of England and the United States losing the bond of a common tongue, but on the possibility of a national split within the United States. Numerous discussions of language and nation in the early twentieth century suggested that without a forceful language policy establishing English as the national language *and* restricting the teaching of other languages, the United States would be fragmented into linguistic minorities seeking to establish their own separate states.

> A cleavage in the language now would mean to us a cleavage of the nation in its most vulnerable if not in its most essential part. That, no matter what our origin, no real American can desire; for it is not a question whether we are to be part German or part English. We might survive with the national spirit cut in two; but should our German born citizens be successful in making German co-equal with English in our public schools, the Bohemians, who hate the very sound of the German language, will demand a similar chance for the Czesch [*sic*] tongue, and they know how to fight for what they want (Steiner, 103, pp. 102–3).

The author further warned that Hungarians, Finns, Scandinavians, and others would "clamor for the same privilege," and when that happened, "we may at once say good-bye to the unity of the United States." The purge of foreign languages was to extend from classrooms to concert halls; no teacher should instruct in a foreign tongue; no singer should perform in any language other than English (103).

Since the 1960s, the possibility of a linguistically divided nation has been discussed with great fervor and frequency. Not surprisingly, the arguments currently offered are similar to those made periodically over the past two hundred years. In response to Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1968, and subsequent laws extending and amending this act, numerous discussions pointing out the possibility of a divided nation have appeared in the press, in court cases, and on the platforms of local parent-teacher organizations. Editorials (34) have suggested that the current encouragement of bilingual education "points the road to cultural, economic and political divisiveness." Parents of children who come to school without English have been characterized as lazy, un-American, and undeserving of American citizenship (Cuneo, 29).

As is so often the case, "easy" interpretations from selected historical facts and rigid arguments such as those cited above equating linguistic and national unity do not bear up under comprehensive examination of the history of debates over language heritage or subjection to current theories of language policy and planning. The question of the future of language as a national symbol and tool of unification in the United States has been an almost constant topic of debate with respect to one or another current issue throughout the history of the United States. In every case, language itself was not the central issue of debate; however, it became a focus of arguments made for political, social, or economic purposes.

Colonial and early national proposals

During the colonial period, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew were debated as the languages of elitism, intellectual pursuits, and mental discipline (Liedke, 78). Those who felt that English and other modern languages were more practical often exaggerated the arguments of the classicists and led readers of early American periodicals to believe that those who favored the classical languages proposed them as universal languages to supplant all others. To this point, the proponents of English and other modern languages made an argument familiar in pedagogical and linguistic circles today: "The only purpose of language is to convey ideas: if modern speech does this, it is complete: if it does not, it is no language" (6). No doubt, fear of the overzealous promotion of the classical languages and their extension helped promote the legend that a legislator proposed that the United States assert its linguistic independence by adopting either Hebrew or Greek as the national language (Mencken, 84). Attention to the pronunciation of Latin and modern Greek was an interest of Thomas Jefferson, and some of his correspondence to scholars of classical languages could easily be interpreted as favoring the extension of Greek in the United States (Wright, 108).

Modern languages other than English also appear in debates and folk legends about a national language for the United States. Sir Herbert Croft, a British etymologist, reported in a letter of 1797 that Americans had proposed during the Revolutionary period the idea of "revenging themselves on England by rejecting its language and adopting that of France" (27, 102). The long-lasting and widespread legend that German almost became the national language in 1794, has already been mentioned. Only one vote in the House of Representatives saved future generations from having to learn German instead of English. The "Muhlenberg legend" refers to a request from Virginia Germans that some laws of the United States be issued in German as well as English. A congressional committee favored the proposal, but when the issue came to a vote in the House, it was rejected 42 to 41. Frederick August Muhlenberg may have cast the deciding negative vote, but that cannot be determined from congressional records (Kloss, 69; Lohr, 80). The legend was picked up by British and American journalists, passed on in its distorted and inaccurate form, and refurbished in the second half of the nineteenth century to remind Americans that Germans might once again muster sufficient power to turn around the language choice of the United States (Bristed, 20).

Social, political, and ideological factors

The centrality of language in social, political, and ideological issues accounts for both the frequency and intensity of language heritage debates. When Benjamin Franklin lashed out against the Germans in Pennsylvania in 1753, he cited fear of their language dominating the state as uppermost in his mind. His comments also point out the willingness of speakers of one language to accuse speakers of other languages of immorality, unpredictability, and untrustworthiness. Of the Pennsylvania Germans, Franklin wrote:

> Those who come hither are generally the most stupid of their own nation, and as ignorance is often attended with credulity when knavery would mislead it, and with suspicion when honesty would set it right: and as few of the English would understand the German language and so cannot address them either from the press or pulpit, it is almost impossible to remove any prejudices they may entertain. Their clergy have very little influence on the people, who seem to take pleasure in abusing and discharging the minister on every trivial occasion. Not being used to liberty, they know not how to make a modest use of it (47, vol. iv, pp. 483–84).

Placing Franklin's comments in the context of political issues of the times reveals that he resented their dominating local elections and feared they would not support his choice for colonial governor.

Language planning

In the United States, whenever speakers of varieties of English or other languages have been viewed as politically, socially, or economically threatening, language variation has become a focus of arguments for standardization. All languages change over time, and all speech communities alter through time the functional distributions of the varieties of language and languages used in them. In addition, language users change their evaluations of forms of language(s). Often, these changes are unconscious, taking place slowly and without concern for the intended status of a language. However, the achievement of a designated position for a language can also be conscious, a result of the deliberate attempts of members of the speech community to determine the directions of language change. Within this process, we have "language planning," in response to either a policy of promoting a language to a particular status or a program of planning for the language corpus. Ideally, policy and planning coexist; however, in some cases, they do not. Ideological or political views about the status of a particular language may occur in response to political, social, or economic pressures.

Within these motivations, language may be considered a tool or a symbol, and planners may concern themselves not with changing the language itself, but rather with promoting it for status achievement and extension to speakers of other languages. For example, within the United States, ideological adherence to English has been supported by the ideal of "a perfect Union," a coming together of diverse peoples in a creative force. Individuals, groups, and the national government have promoted the idea at different times throughout our history that speaking the same language would insure uniformity of other behavioral traits, such as morality, patriotism, and logical thinking.

Providing a language heritage

The problem of how to approach the study of language heritage can be, in part, resolved through exploring the historical facts; however, the theoretical focus and concepts of language planning as defined by linguists today are also important in this regard. Until two decades ago, little attention was given to considering the United States as a case study of language planning or as a nation for which language planning was needed. Instead, linguists, anthropologists, and political scientists (Fishman et al., 46; Rubin and Jernudd, 96). For modernizing and newly independent nations, linguists and social scientists defined problems of language in terms of national development and nation-building (Heath, 59). A key issue in parts of Africa, Asia, and Latin America has been selection of a national or official language by the central polity: Should the official language of state business be a language of wider communication, such as English, French, or Spanish (and usually the language of colonial dominance)? Or should newly independent nations select one or more of the indigenous languages of the nation for use in education and internal official business? Such a choice may create the need for an orthographic system and literacy materials, and the designation of agencies or individuals responsible for planning changes in the language (e.g., adding technical terms to the indigenous lexicon).

Identifying the purposes of language choice and implementation of language planning is a social, economic, and political issue. Should the indigenous tongues be accepted because their use in early literacy instruction provides a faster shift to literacy than direct teaching in the selected official language? Should government policy promote, or merely tolerate, tongues other than the one selected for official government use? Will promotion of linguistic diversity encourage or discourage cultural, and possibly political, separatism? In answering these questions, language planners attempt to consider the social, political, economic, and religious ramifications of their decisions. Is one language or dialect more linked in the minds of the population with a religious tradition than another (Stevick, 104)? What is the history of the relative social and economic status of one group of dialect or language speakers as opposed to another? Language surveys (Ohannessian et al., 89; Waggoner, 106) are necessary before many of these questions can be effectively answered, for such surveys provide basic data on the major languages of the country. Sociolinguistic concerns (Ferguson, 41) include the social contexts of usage and cause language planners to ask who speaks which of these languages as a first language, and where and under which circumstances (in religious, recreational, or political settings, for reading only, or for both speaking and reading) certain languages are used.

Recently, language planners have focused their attention on detailed analyses of psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic factors of language learning (Fishman, 42). In Paraguay, for example, educators ask: What is the level of knowledge of Spanish controlled by native Spanish-speaking children of certain ages and school grades? What is the sociolinguistic competence of children in the primary grades in terms of their awareness of how one addresses a bus driver or a priest? Such information is necessary to plan competency tests and curricula for teaching Spanish to Guaraní speakers (Rubin, 95).

Language planning in the United States

Foreign language teachers in the United States, no doubt, see many of the questions raised by language planners for developing nations as similar to issues currently debated in foreign language instruction. Yet, in the United States many of these issues have never been considered in terms of language planning or language policy. A great majority of historical and literary accounts (Barnes and Barnes, 11; Fairchild, 40) portray English as the implicit, if not the explicit, choice for the national language. National leaders have not considered with anything even approaching a comprehensive plan such questions as the processes and personnel for determining a standard norm of English, a policy with regard to tolerance or promotion of other languages, and implementation of language choices in schools, business, law courts, and voting procedures. One observer has noted that this lack of attention to a specific language policy in the United States has created "one of history's little ironies:" "No polyglot empire of the old world has dared be as ruthless in imposing a single language upon its whole population as was the liberal republic 'dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal' " (Johnson, 64, pp. 118–19).

It has been proposed that the absence of compulsion is an indirect, but nevertheless strong, motivation for immigrants to learn English. For example, Germans who wished to speak German did so for internal group purposes; their use of the language broke no law. Therefore, if they rejected English and handicapped themselves economically, they did not have even "the inner consolation of feeling that they defied tyrannous authority" (Johnson, 64, p. 119). Haugen (56, pp. 11–12) has noted that the lack of specificity regarding language choice and change at the national level and the emphasis on "individual enterprise" in these matters have effectively precluded rule revision and protest in United States language policy.

Throughout the nineteenth century, language choice decisions were stated in state laws or constitutions (Geffert et al, 49; Kloss, 70), if they were stipulated at all. Until the advent of extensive federal funding for school programs, educational policy was the concern of the individual states and not of the federal government. Independent school districts or county administrations determined school policies, including language-related decisions. These local agents defined school policies in accordance with the needs of the particular speakers of the community (Beheri and Clayton, 12; Ellis, 38; Jones, 65). Private and parochial schools offered instruction in the languages of their clientele. The extent of flexibility in educational policies related to language may be inferred from a summation of the numbers of immigrants to the United States born outside the United Kingdom (including Ireland), in 1850 and 1880. In 1850, out of an immigrant population of 900,000, English was the mother tongue of only 100,000. Thirty years later, only 500,000 of an immigrant population of 3,900,000 spoke English as their native tongue. In 1880, of the foreign-born speaking a non-English tongue, 58 percent spoke German, 10 percent spoke French, and 10 percent spoke Scandinavian languages (Kloss, 69, p. 11). Though census data and interpretations of language statistics from such data are highly questionable, these figures do allow us to envision the ethnic heritage of communities making and interpreting language policies in the nineteenth century.

Language and educational policies

Immediately, these figures raise the issue of the relation of language and ethnic boundaries to educational policies. In 1874, the relation of foreign language teaching in the public school and maintenance of ethnic boundaries was implicit in a Michigan case in which the court was asked to rule on the legality of taxation to support secondary-school instruction of foreign languages. The court ruled that foreign languages could be taught in public schools. In 1881, an Illinois court ruled that though the teaching of foreign languages could not be prohibited, the school's medium of communication must be English. An 1893 case in Kansas made a similar ruling (Fulbright and Bolmeier, 48). Increasingly, in the twentieth century, as individual states have removed laws tolerating instruction in languages other than English from their codes, the ethnic issue has moved to the forefront in legal decision-making. In *Meyer* v. *Nebraska* (1932), a teacher was convicted for giving German instruction in a private school. The Nebraska Supreme Court affirmed a fear of ethnic boundary maintenance and its relationships in use of languages other than English:

> The legislature had seen the baneful effects of permitting foreigners who had taken residence in this country, to rear and educate their children in the language of their native land. The result of that condition was found to be inimical to our own safety. To allow the children of foreigners who had emigrated here, to be taught from early childhood the language of the country of their parents, was to rear them with that language as the mother tongue. It was to educate them so that they must always think in that language, and as a consequence, naturally inculcate in them the ideas and sentiments foreign to the best interests of this country. The statute, therefore, was intended not only to require that the education of all children be conducted in the English language, but that, until they had grown into that language, and until it had become a part of them, they should not in the schools be taught any other language (85, pp. 397-98).

The Supreme Court overturned the conviction of the lower courts by ruling that a teacher's right to teach and a parent's right to engage him were protected by the Fourteenth Amendment. The attempt by the Nebraska legislature to interfere with the "calling of modern language teachers" and to spread fear of foreign tongues as perils to public safety was specifically rebuked. However, the Court stated that it did not question the power of the state to compel attendance in school and to require that instruction be given in English. With respect to numerous other state cases on school regulation in the 1920s, the Supreme Court ruled that requiring the language of instruction to be English in a state or territory of the United States was constitutional, but restriction of secondary language efforts by ethnic groups was unconstitutional (Leibowitz, 77).

The Bilingual issue

Nevertheless, until the passage of the Bilingual Education Act of 1968, legislative and executive decisions decidedly favored English. However, with the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as background, federal legislators who debated the Bilingual Education Act in 1967 began to recognize the educational role of languages other than English for ethnic groups in the United States. Individual states, such as Massachusetts, California, New Mexico, and Texas also passed statutes favoring bilingual education. In the *Lau* v. *Nichols* case (1970-74), the courts had to face the issue of language with respect to whether or not Chinese-speaking students received equal educational opportunity when they were taught in a language they could not understand. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited exclusion from participation in federally funded programs of any person "on the ground of race, color or national origin." The Bilingual Education Act of 1968 defined bilingual/bicultural education and established funding for programs for "children of limited English-speaking ability" (Geffert et al., 49). By the early 1970s most of the school districts of the United States were receiving federal monies, and control over language policies and other educational issues which had in the nineteenth century resided in local school boards now shifted to administrators assessing districts' needs for federal funds. Therefore, as a condition for receiving federal aid, school districts had to take "affirmative steps to rectify the language deficiency of national-origin minority group students" unable to speak and understand English.

Chinese students in San Francisco argued that they did not receive an equal educational opportunity in schools where they could not understand the language of instruction. Relying in part on *Meyer* v. *Nebraska*, the lower court ruled that uniform use of English did not constitute unlawful discrimination. The Supreme Court overturned the decision, ruling that under state-imposed standards which required school attendance, mandated use of the English language, and required fluency in English as a prerequisite to high school graduation, the Chinese students were not receiving equal treatment under Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Ramifications of this decision and guidelines for compliance with it have increasingly raised the issue of ethnic boundary maintenance and relations between language and ethnicity. Discrimination has generally been identified in terms of differential treatment. In *Lau*, the failure to differentiate the language of instruction for Chinese students was judged to be discriminatory. Applications of the decision have most consistently affected educational policies for Spanish-speaking residents in the Southwest, California, Florida, and New York. However, other ethnic groups are now asking to be identified through census surveys as "linguistic minorities" and to have differential treatment consisting of individual or group learning programs by bilingual crosscultural teachers (21).

Language and ethnicity

Will the national focus on linguistic minorities increase ethnic identification as well as extend instruction in languages other than English? During the 1960s, sociologists and linguists began looking at ethnic boundaries and probed into the question of *language maintenance* in ethnic groups. Of particular concern was the degree of institutional pluralism in United States society: Among ethnic groups in America, was social participation restricted to interaction in institutions which included *only* members of their own group? Social scientists discovered that ethnic groups shared participation in a number of institutions outside their community, primarily economic, political, and educational; yet they maintained some cultural and linguistic enclosure in particular institutions (Schermerhorn, 98). These were usually closely related to daily functions of primary group integration; marriage and kinship, religion, folk holidays, and rites of intensification of group memberships (such as celebrations for the young, national holidays associated either with the old country or with special occasions in this country). That is, historically related groups did not necessarily maintain their language for use in traditional ways or as a tie to the old country. In addition, maintenance was not always linked to social class homogeneity; that is, ethnic celebrations during the 1960s began to pull together individuals of different social classes for similar celebrations of their ethnicity.

The relatively recent attention to *ethnicity* has made evident the need for a clear definition of the term. Fishman (45) defined the primary meaning of ethnicity as follows:

> . . . an all-embracing constellation, limited in its contacts with the outside world, limited in its consciousness of self, limited in the internal differentiation or specialization that it recognizes or permits; a "given" that is viewed as no more subject to change than one's kin and one's birthplace; a "given" that operates quite literally with these two differentiations (kinship and birthplace) uppermost in mind; a "given" in which kinship and birthplace completely regulate friendship, worship, and workmanship (p. 70).

Language is recognized in this ethnicity as part of the socialization process. As such, it can be a boundary-maintaining device or a badge of basic group identity (Isaacs, 62), but it need not necessarily be so. Until the last two decades, Americans saw ethnicity as something to be transformed, and studies of ethnicity (Schermerhorn, 99) focused on how well or how badly certain groups had undergone this transformation. Common traditions, including language, were pointed out as symbolic and processual, and daily interactions and traditions of specific groups were virtually ignored by national policy makers. When the "Great Society" and its programs of social intervention became a fact of life to diverse groups in the United States, language differences became the focus not only of educational concerns, but also of socioeconomic problems. Increasingly, questions related to ethnic boundary maintenance and language retention have been tossed into the political arena.

Language maintenance

In general, language maintenance by specific groups in religious or community-based folk traditional activities has not been a matter of political concern; for example, legislators have not viewed languages such as Yiddish (Howe, 60) or Greek as threats to educational stability and national unity. Languages such as Spanish, French, German, Chinese and Japanese—linked in the view of the general public more with national origin than with religion—have caused political leaders great concern. Proposals such as that made by the National Exploratory Conference on Chicano Sociolinguistics (Reyes, 94) to provide bilingual public services in Aztlan (Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California, and Colorado) are seen as disruptive. Politicians and populace react with warnings that the recent history of Quebec cannot be repeated in the United States. These fears derive in part from unfamiliarity with the background of language heritage in the United States, as well as insufficient knowledge about the historical background and current political status of multilingual nations around the world. Current decision-making should be based in part on a historical perspective—a clear statement of the policies, processes, and procedures which have existed throughout the history of the United States with respect to language and ethnicity. Foreign language instruction and maintenance are central in this perspective.

Historical sources of foreign languages

Accounts of foreign language use in specific communities or institutions and of foreign language teaching in the United States are widely scattered and often presented as only pieces of larger issues. Whereas Fishman (43, 44) provides the most comprehensive coverage of immigrants' retention of their native languages, Haugen (57) presents the most complete case study of one language group—the Norwegians. Abbott's (1, 2) and Bennett's (13) collections of materials on immigrants provide discussions of language retention. Histories of education (Berrol, 14; Krug, 72; Ravitch, 91; Schultz, 100; Tyack, 105) in various locales and periods include partial treatments of schooling for immigrants. Scattered chapters and articles treat modern language instruction at particular educational levels (Andersson, 7; Elliott, 37; Grandgent, 50).

Accounts of the teaching of individual foreign languages in the United States were rare in the literature until the 1960s (Leavitt, 74; Watts, 107; Zeydel, 110). Until that time, comprehensive treatments of the history of foreign language teaching in the United States were in relatively obscure monographs or official reports (Handschin, 54). While general texts (Chastain, 26; Grittner, 52) have presented brief sketches of the history of modern language teaching, special pleas for foreign language teaching in the 1960s produced works which incorporated a historical perspective (Huebener, 61). As yet, however, there is no published account of bilingual programs in specific cities or states; the history of the bilingual tradition in the nation is most comprehensively examined by Kloss (69). Analyses of the legal perspective of language and ethnicity with relation to literacy, employment practices, and schooling are provided by Leibowitz (75, 76, 77). Chachkin (24) provides a general review of the law and foreign languages. But few of these address directly the alternative methods of maintaining foreign languages throughout the nation's history, and the relationship of these methods to broader questions of social and national membership.

Self-instruction

During the colonial and early national periods, foreign language maintenance was already an issue for many of the same groups concerned with it today: churches, politicians, and special interest groups. In urban areas, speakers of foreign languages formed societies to promote the use of their native language as they developed ways of caring for orphans, widows, and children of families unable to send their children abroad for education. For example, the German Friendly Society of Charleston, South Carolina required that its members speak German in the late 1700s. Gradually, this requirement was weakened; instead, individuals were asked to monitor their uses of English. They were fined for obscene language, oaths, or talking out of turn. One was supposed to maintain his knowledge of foreign languages through individual study, or with minimal help from such primary associates as he could find. Colonial and early national newspapers abounded with advertisements placed by persons who would give instruction in foreign languages in their home or in the home of the pupil (Chanover, 25). The following ad was typical: "A Young Frenchman, who has been resident about seven months in this town, has a desire to make himself useful to the publick—and believes he can be so in no other way so well as in the instruction of the youth of both sexes in the French language" (82). Multilingual individuals offered instruction in one language in the morning and another in the afternoon.

Modern or classical languages?

Arguments over the advantages of modern languages versus the classical languages ran the gamut from the serious to the sublime and were often summarized in exaggerated terms by modern language instructors. One overly anxious tutor of German included in the advertisement of his services: "This being the original language of Europe, for which, as from the Celtic, its oldest dialect, the Greeks and Latins borrowed many hundreds of their words, as Sir Richard Steele observes in his English grammar; therefore, it is of greater antiquity than those of the Greeks and Romans; —and as being the mother tongue, or the origin and source of the French and English, the radical knowledge, of these languages depend on it" (8). Bookkeepers who kept records in French advertised their services. Public brokers and translators were available for numerous languages.

There was, in addition, a keen interest among readers of early American periodicals in the language affairs of countries abroad. When the French circulated petitions asking that the language of public monuments be shifted from Latin to French, the petition was widely published in newspapers of the United States. Excerpts from the constitutions, scientific reports, and literature of the French were of particular interest and widely distributed in American periodicals. General articles about language appeared frequently, often asserting the universal value of all languages; "Sense is Sense in all Languages" and "in Point of Invention, all Men are on a Par" (5).

Self-instruction in foreign languages was taken as expected behavior; moreover, learning to read another language was viewed as a relatively simple task. Foreign languages were tools used to obtain knowledge, as one prominent early national citizen wrote a colleague:

> Everybody who has ever studied the modern languages so far as to be able to read them (which is all that can well be effected without visiting foreign countries, and all that is necessary too for an American)—everybody, I say, knows that a competent knowledge of these languages may be obtained with very little study. A youth may learn all that he will want to know of those of the South of Europe, in the course of a few months by the help of his Latin, and as many more of the North of Europe at the same time by the means of our own Teutonic dialect. To this degree of knowledge he may attain at his leisure hours and without interfering with studies which are essential to the proper cultivation of his intellectual powers (Pickering, 90).

Thomas Jefferson agreed with this assessment of the ease with which one could acquire a foreign language. He urged his daughter to read French daily and suggested to young correspondents that a speaking knowledge of French be acquired in Canada. He judged learning French "absolutely essential" and Spanish vitally important, because of both diplomatic interchanges and the history of Spanish influence in the New World. Jefferson himself learned Spanish by reading *Don Quixote* with the help of a grammar and dictionary. He advised his daughter to do the same, but she was less enthusiastic. When pushed about her diligence in pursuing ten pages of Spanish a day, she wrote her father that she could not follow his wishes because the book *Don Quixote* was too large to fit in the pocket of the carriage in which she took her daily rides (Jefferson, 63).

In addition to the social merits of learning foreign languages, political benefits came to those who excelled in their study. An early recommendation (1781) for Peter S. DuPonceau for public employment noted; "He has . . . a most remarkable Facility of acquiring Languages. French is his native tongue, English he has acquired perfectly, and he understands German, Italian, and Spanish. He can translate Dutch and Low Dutch with the Help of a Dictionary but a little application will make him master of these. He is also a good Latin Scholar" (Boudinot, 19). Self-education in foreign languages was also to be promoted for special vocational purposes. An 1824 grammar purporting to give in German and English colloquial phrases on every topic necessary to maintain conversation noted: "The prevalence of the German language in many parts of the United States should form a powerful inducement for men in every situation of life to become, at least partially acquainted with it. To the man of business, especially, a knowledge of the German tongue is of the first importance, as it will greatly facilitate his intercourse with a very valuable part of our population" (Ehrenfried, 35). Printers were recommended not only for their skills in printing, but also for their knowledge of foreign languages. Most of the individuals learning modern languages other than English during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were self-instructed and interested primarily in acquiring reading knowledge of the languages for either general information or specific career objectives.

Church and home instruction

Institutions providing instruction in languages other than English and the classical languages focused primarily on retention of foreign languages to foster ethnicity or religious life. The family and the church were the primary institutions which encouraged use of the native languages of immigrant groups (Samarin, 97). Children learned to read from religious materials and were called on to display their knowledge by contributing to church-related and community-centered activities. Children learned formal stylistic features of the language as used in religious settings, specialized vocabulary, and formulaic utterances. They were expected to recognize differences between the style of language used in church services and that used in daily communications (Crystal, 28). Individuals and groups came to associate retention of their language with religious maintenance, and not until late in the nineteenth century was this connection broken for many religious sects. Some, such as the Hutterite and Amish, retain use of their language in worship services and community activities even today. As churches began to realize that the youth of their congregations would increasingly insist on the use of English in services, religious leaders sought other means to preserve their culture and language. Schools and newspapers gradually took over this service. Pastors and lay people feared that those who knew religious language only in their mother-tongue would have no opportunities for meaningful worship if all churches confined their services to English. After 1900, shifts to English became more frequent, as children received catechism instruction in English and it was increasingly used in ritual (Billigmeier, 15; Jorgenson, 66; Nelson, 86).

Instruction in public elementary schools

As education in foreign languages shifted from the home environment and religious institutions, the role of foreign languages in the public schools had become a matter of debate. By the mid-nineteenth century, educators were calling for a common school system which would make education available to the youth of America. The social bases of education did not appeal uniformly to all Americans; the removal of education as a responsibility of the individual and his family, and the establishment of the power of the state to tax a citizen's property for school support caused numerous difficulties for the early schools. The society was not homogeneous, and establishment of nonsectarian, publicly supported schools open and free to all children raised almost immediately the question of diversities in the classroom (Katz, 68). It was necessary during the decades of the 1860s, 1870s, and 1880s to recruit students for schools, since work opportunities and home responsibilities were more favorable and profitable settings than were schools. Political leaders and school personnel recognized the need to attract immigrants to the school so that a common value system might be built among the youth who would serve as future voters (Eichhoff, 36; Smith, 101).

Immigrants were thus looked upon during this period as potential clients to be courted and accommodated in many ways. In particular, the public schools wanted to draw children away from private academies where instruction was frequently given in languages other than English. A case study (Jorgenson, 66) of Wisconsin's development of public instruction illustrates this trend. In 1847, the state convention heard requests that provision be made for free schools. A German-born member of the convention proposed that districts having large numbers of foreign-born settlers be allowed to offer instruction in languages other than English. The convention adopted the resolution. In a state where more than one-third of the population was foreign-born, such a concession seemed hardly necessary for specific notice. Each nationality group—Norwegians, Poles, Dutch, Belgians, Swiss, German, and Irish—tended to establish its own community and use their mother tongue in public schools. What must have been merely nominal laws were passed in 1848, 1849, and 1854, stipulating that certain subjects in public schools were to be taught in English. Compliance with the laws was impossible in most settlements, and school personnel worked without interference to insure that the native tongue of their constituents was maintained in the schools. Proof of this practice is evidenced by reaction to the Bennett Law, passed in Wisconsin in 1889.

Proposed primarily to restrict child labor and to provide for compulsory school attendance annually for all children between the ages of seven and fourteen for not less than twelve weeks, the Bennett Law contained one section which stipulated that instruction be given in the English language. Passed without a dissenting vote, the law was received with severe hostility in German communities throughout the state. Parochial schools could no longer conduct their classes primarily in German, and public schools which had been doing so might now be more closely watched than before. The law was repealed in the legislative session of 1891. However, in Wisconsin, as elsewhere across the nation, in the next two decades religious schools declined in number, and public schools increased in both enrollment size and influence (Billigmeier, 15).

In particular, in the last decades of the nineteenth century, urban school systems were becoming more centralized and more conscious of their particular responsibilities to immigrants. Political leaders supported recruitment of immigrant children to public schools and argued that education of the young would influence parents to make wise political choices. Moreover, there was ready recognition of the value of knowledge of multiple languages in education. In 1870, the United States Commissioner of Education stressed this point in his assessment of the national language situation: "The German language has actually become the second language of our Republic, and a knowledge of German is now considered essential to a finished education" (Zeydel, 110, p. 294). Cleveland, St. Louis, and Milwaukee were among those urban school systems which provided instruction in the students' first language or offered dual-language classes. Kluwin's (71) study of the Cleveland schools provides important data and interpretive analysis on the reasons why school leaders sought to maintain the languages of immigrant children in the elementary programs of the school system. Cleveland's superintendent during the 1870s was not afraid to announce that though certainly English was the "language of our country, it was only natural for German-speaking groups to keep their own language as a bond of common experiences, past and present."

Cleveland: A case study

In 1871, Louis L. Klemm was appointed supervisor of German instruction in the Cleveland elementary schools. His analyses of bilingual education processes, problems, and techniques serve as a reminder that the problems of today were met and overcome by Klemm a century ago. Klemm focused on the value of the kindergarten experience for immigrant children, teacher training, foreign language teaching methods, and organization of a network of German and German-English teachers for mutual exchange of materials and techniques. Klemm argued that society had the responsibility of enabling immigrants to recognize and avail themselves of educational opportunities for their children; he did not place blame on the immigrant for not assimilating solely through his own motivation. During the early twentieth century, placing blame on the immigrant became a familiar refrain, as educators and political leaders claimed that immigrants should themselves be motivated to give up their native language and adopt English and other behavior patterns of "true Americans" (Daniels, 30; Fairchild, 40).

Klemm advocated adoption of pedagogical methods used in Germany, and he imported German books in order that elementary teachers might have ready access to sources of innovative instructional methods. He urged a comparative grammar approach in the teaching of English and German, and he recommended that attention to both languages be given throughout the curriculum. The German language should not be reserved solely for the basic literacy skills or social studies, but its use should be incorporated in the teaching of various subjects and across different functions of language usage. Regarding the relation between ethnicity and language, Klemm pointed out that the mixture of two peoples—Anglo-Saxon and German—would provide a creative force in the American society, and the bond of a common culture would be built while maintaining both languages. Klemm extended the German language into high schools, with the goal of better preparing German language teachers for the elementary system. Believing that foreign languages were best learned at an early age, he proposed that only those native English speakers who had been part of the dual language program at the elementary level be admitted to high school German classes.

By the 1890s, as Kluwin (71) points out in her study of the schools of Cleveland, San Francisco, and New York, public schools were beginning to meet their quotas for filling classrooms, and accommodation of the special needs of immigrant children no longer seemed as important as it had several decades earlier. Moreover, political forces were stirring up fears of "the immigrant element" within the national population, and proposals were made to limit and restrict immigration. Language and literacy became an early focus for restriction. In 1897, President Grover Cleveland returned without approval to the House of Representatives a bill that excluded from admission to the United States "all persons physically capable and over 16 years of age who cannot read and write the English language or some other language. . . ." Cleveland viewed this restriction as "harsh and oppressive." Taft and Wilson vetoed similar bills (Davis, 32, p. 377).

Political motivations and new settings

Concerns similar to those behind moves to restrict immigration influenced changes in naturalization requirements. Leibowitz (77) has pointed out that, before 1906, there was no prerequisite in naturalization laws that an alien either speak or be literate in English. However, the Nationality Act of 1906 required that an alien speak English in order to become naturalized. This requirement was codified in the Nationality Act of 1940 and extended to include demonstration of an ability to read and write English in the Internal Security Act of 1950.

In the early decades of the twentieth century, educators recognized the relationship of their language teaching tasks to political issues. Opportunities for adult immigrants to acquire literacy and a speaking knowledge of English in institutionalized settings were restricted to evening classes. Each city had different policies, and in many cases, private evening schools and individuals offered immigrants the opportunity for miraculous language conversion at high prices. After 1915, licensing of evening schools and closer control of standards for the teaching of English and civics were accomplished in several cities. In addition, outspoken individuals argued that much of the education offered to adult immigrants should be in their native language. Jane Addams recognized that many older men and women would never learn English, but would need information in their own languages about coping with daily problems of living and managing families in American cities (Abbott, 3). Ironically, guides (Carr, 22, 23) offering advice on many of these problems were published *in English* for individual immigrant populations and distributed by the Daughters of the American Revolution. Public libraries in some cities even began to supply books in the languages of the immigrants, but concrete information in print about the city's water and milk supply, sanitary regulations, or labor laws was not available in languages other than English during the first decades of the twentieth century. Kluwin (71) has pointed out that much of this information, plus general dicta on morality and patriotism, was, however, included in English textbooks used in elementary schools.

Another impetus to spreading English among the immigrant populations was the recognition that the school could not be the sole agent of Americanization. The superintendent of the Boston public schools pointed out in 1910 that of the thirteen million immigrants in the United States, three million spoke no English. The majority of these were past school-age, and opportunities for night school were far too limited to accommodate them all. The superintendent concluded that the majority of adult immigrants would therefore learn to speak English outside school settings. Moreover, school settings for the learning of English seemed threatening to the religious values of many immigrants, and they were, therefore, initially distrustful of their goals for teaching English. The superintendent noted: "Religious devotion and feeling are inextricably bound up with the native language, so that in spite of any lack of intention on our part, when we begin to propose compulsion about language we probably seem to the foreigner to infringe upon religious rights (Davis 32, p. 584).

Social issues of language learning

In a remarkable effort at comparative social science inquiry, the superintendent reviewed the language policies of Switzerland and Austro-Hungary and concluded that "the mere imposition of language cannot bring about automatically nationalization, a fact which uncompromising advocates of compulsion in this country should note" (p. 586). The language policy of the United States had, through its very inadequacy, been successful, because it had depended in the past on the motivations of the learners. Immigrants had been highly resourceful in hiring themselves out as groups working under an interpreter in foundries, stockyards, and construction projects. "Gang work" in employment and efforts to learn about city transportation systems, labor laws, and union practices had provided means by which immigrants were cushioned through group efforts to acquire English for necessary functions (Abbott, 3). The Boston school superintendent warned against forced subjugation of the immigrants to a nationalize-through-language program; language is a "right which even *might* may not take away . . . a fundamental right which no constitution of men may remove" (Davis, 32, p. 587). The language policy choice for the United States in its program of Americanization was simple:

> Shall we insist that the stranger who has joined our membership shall by law and compulsion acquire our language, conform to our major customs, become naturalized, renounce all prior allegiance, or shall we attempt to persuade him to adopt American customs and to use our language, by pointing out the moral obligation, by furnishing convenient means in the way of free instruction, and perhaps by granting privileges which may be withheld from the non-citizen? (p. 588).

Language planning had to respond to social and economic, as well as political issues. Americanization and the ideological role of English in political concerns were not nearly so important in a basic sense as socioeconomic issues. For example, industry was increasingly encountering difficulties with safety-first campaigns and problems of labor turnover. New state compulsory compensation laws were making employers liable for accidents which occurred as a result of the inability of immigrants to read signs or understand instructions about machinery operations. Long-standing immunity from costs and damages based on the common law procedure involving the principle of contributory negligence had given way to unavoidable payments by employers. Laborers' knowledge of English and acquisition of minimal literacy skills became economic assets to employers. Furthermore, non-English-speaking employees moved from job to job rapidly, and companies began to emphasize the positive correlation between time on the job and knowledge of English among immigrant workers (Abbott, 3). The warning given in a handbook for immigrants is typical:

> English is absolutely indispensable to the workman. He needs it in order to find work. He needs it to take direction and have his work explained. He needs it unless he is willing to work for the smallest wages with no hope of increase. He needs it when he is in difficulties to avoid interested [exploitative] helpers. He needs it to protect himself without requiring the help of the law. He needs it to understand words

> of warning and keep out of danger, for every year hundreds of immigrants are hurt or killed in America, because they do not understand the shouts of warning, or do not know how to read danger signals, when a few English words might have saved their lives (Carr, 23, p. 14).

Citizenship and Americanization as reasons to acquire English paled beside such realistic and basic reasons as personal safety, economic support, and social security. As industries became more involved with the need for immigrants to learn English, they also provided the means. Newly arrived immigrants were established temporarily in private homes where they could be helped to develop skills in coping with daily routines of city and factory life. Labor unions actively recruited immigrants in the hope of reducing rivalries among groups and of breaking down boundaries of ethnicity and language (Abbott, 3; Davis, 32).

These practical measures were undeniably aided by the xenophobia of the period from 1920 through the 1940s. Repressive measures against those who spoke German, Japanese, and Chinese were supported by state and local institutions (Leibowitz, 75; O'Brien, 88). Increased immigration of Mexicans into the Southwest brought Spanish-speaking children into schools where they were forbidden to use their native language. The Bilingual Education Act and the *Lau* v. *Nichols* decision, plus increased public awareness of the implications of the equal protection amendment, have brought numerous recitals of the discriminatory practices that have been meted out to those who spoke foreign languages since the late nineteenth century.

Academic approaches to modern language teaching

Ironically, the attitudes of the public toward speakers of foreign languages since the late nineteenth century have not kept pace with the responses of educational and political institutions to the teaching of foreign languages to non-native speakers. It was in the late nineteenth century that the Modern Language Association was formed to promote teaching of modern languages other than English in the schools. Partisans of modern languages argued that they represented the "true spirit of literary culture" (Blackie, 17, p. 233), and that with proper teacher training and attention to pedagogical methods, modern languages could measure up to classical tongues. Since the last decade of the nineteenth century, there has been a phenomenal interest in the teaching *of* foreign languages in public schools (as opposed to *in* foreign languages), compared with that which had been sporadically evidenced by institutions (other than religious ones) in the past century. To be sure, the pattern has been one of ups and downs; nevertheless, in a comparative perspective, the positive valuation of foreign language teaching which has been evidenced periodically in the twentieth century is important

(Lohnes and Nollendorfs, 79). At times, languages other than English have been valued primarily for reading; at other times, arguments have been made that speaking and writing foreign languages were important skills. These shifts of emphasis are recounted in Newmark (87) and other collections of reports of the National Educational Association and the Modern Language Association (37, 81, 93).

What is important to note is the critical difference of attitude toward *voluntary* acquisition of a foreign language and acquisition of a "foreign tongue" as a native language. Until the end of the nineteenth century, there was no discrimination against the native speaker of a language other than English. Foreign languages were viewed as tools for all speakers, tools for acquiring access to vocations, leisurely pursuits, and scientific and political information. As the teaching of modern languages in the public schools became established, proponents shaped their arguments along the same lines used by those who had a century earlier pushed classical studies. They therefore developed the notion that acquisition of modern language brought "culture," mental discipline, improvement of "the imaginative faculty" (9, 17, 92), and breadth of exposure to world literatures and civilizations. In many respects, the learning of foreign languages was a status marker.

For the nation: Expanded communication

Until well into the middle of the twentieth century, the practical workaday benefits of foreign languages were not lauded; only recently have the vocational opportunities for those who learn foreign languages been emphasized in the public schools and colleges. The merger between the practical and the "cultured" aspects of learning a foreign language, whether a first or a second tongue, is the stage which we must now enter if foreign language teaching is to benefit from or work within the ramifications of the Bilingual Education Act and the revitalization of ethnicity. This point was made in a 1914 Report of the Massachusetts Commission on Immigration:

> That the knowledge of a second language has cultural advantages is beyond dispute, and should be encouraged, for in the history, traditions, literature and art of the various nations there is much that would enrich American life. But it is not in the pursuit of culture that the overwhelming majority of these children are to spend their lives. The far more practical and far more difficult problem of bread-winning is the one to which—day in and day out—they will be forced to devote their unremitting attention (39, p. 565).

The goals indicated here and called for in today's responses to issues of language heritage are, admittedly, difficult to achieve. Compulsion and institutionalization cannot achieve them; what is needed is creation within the general public of a positive view of foreign languages, whether they be first or second languages. To do this, immersion programs such as those available in some public and private schools of the nineteenth century, and the few initiated since the Bilingual Education Act in the United States, are needed. Research in current programs has shown that attitudes toward languages other than English have grown more positive for both children and parents (Lambert, 73).

Choosing to learn

Voluntary immersion experiences of individuals seeking to learn another language by becoming members of foreign language communities attest to positive learning experiences and attitude-building. The revitalization of ethnicity in communities across the United States has influenced language projects of varied merit and longevity, to be sure, but they nevertheless attest to a growing awareness of the role of foreign languages in the cultures of ethnic groups. "Sister city" programs now bring individuals from families who originally settled in particular regions back and forth across the Atlantic. Special fetes prepared for the visitors invariably necessitate use of the foreign language and historical research into the maintenance of the original language of the community. Increasingly, travel by individuals is being motivated by a search for one's "roots" which includes a study of the language of earlier family members. For example, local and national ethnic associations are increasingly sponsoring tours to the old country preceded by language instruction. Language schools, such as the Scuola di Lingua e Cultura Italiana in South San Francisco, which offers instruction in Italian to children and adults, and courses in history and culture, cooking, and regional dancing, have remained relatively stable in enrollment since 1970 (Yole, 109).

Even in regions of the country where ethnic identification does not appear to be a factor, there seems to be an increase in interest in foreign languages. In the fall of 1976, when a college in a relatively small Southern town offered weekly instruction in German, French, and Spanish to primary-level children after school and for a fee, enrollment was five times that which was expected. Moreover, retention rates in the program remained stable throughout the first semester (Medlin, 83).

Neither these scattered and perhaps isolated events nor responses to the Bilingual Education Act ensure that we can predict the future of either foreign language instruction or bilingual education in the United States. The bilingual and foreign language tradition in the United States has not been extensively studied or reported. Currently, the majority of United States citizens seem to see the Bilingual Education Act not as a revival of a valuable tradition we had lost (Dusel, 33), but rather as an aberration in American history. Maintenance of the Anglo tradition and Americanization in language have seemed to most Americans both natural and national. When groups now speak out for particular extensions of bilingualism in American society and emphasize the disparity of opportunities which exist between those who speak English and those who do not, many citizens become nervous over the possibility of political schism.

Conclusion: Linking the past with the future

Historical accounts of the factual situation in communities of the United States are needed to reassure those who believe language and ethnic maintenance in the United States has to lead to cultural or political divisions. The language heritage of the United States is complex, and its chronology is a standing warning to those who would consistently see history as progress. The postwar age in the twentieth century of the United States was indeed a period of scientific and technological achievement, but it brought a tendency toward exclusiveness. The Bilingual Education Act began in humanistic motivations. However, the struggle to reinstate and strengthen the myth of a monolingual English tradition in the United States may crush out that humanism. If this happens, the approximately 15.2 million to 28.7 million individuals (aged four and older) who were born abroad, or who usually speak a language other than English, or who come from non-English language environments will suffer. Within this group are 3.6 to 8.1 million children aged four to eighteen (Waggoner, 106, p. 3). The bilingual education movement must, in order to benefit foreign language teaching in the United States, be an evangelical movement which will engage those who believe in language diversity in the nation and multilingualism for native speakers of English and other languages. If the stereotype and surrounding myths of the monolingual tradition in the United States become established, all foreign language teaching will suffer. If, on the other hand, the current trends of ethnic revitalization and promotion of foreign languages in ethnic institutions continue, the study of foreign languages in the public schools may move into a period of growth.

The shrinking world, and the importance of reviving positive images of the United States abroad may make it necessary to return to the issues raised by John Adams nearly two centuries ago: the promotion of language diversity as a world-wide bond of communication. The United Nations Charter requires member nations to promote human rights "without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion." Rights to language are drawing increasing attention around the world as former colonial territories become independent. Attention abroad is thus being focused upon the United States reaction to the Bilingual Education Act. Evidence from other nations in all parts of the world in varying stages of modernization (the Netherlands, Belgium, Paraguay, Mexico, Germany, Sweden, and Tanzania) does not support the assumption that linguistic diversity necessarily leads to political separatism. Language planners in educational, economic, and political development increasingly point out stable, linguistically diverse communities. Today's population is, as it has always been, ethnically and linguistically diverse (Kammen, 67). World-wide communication and expanding economic dependence on other nations, and political accessibility to the interests of plural cultures within the United States, require that we maintain diverse languages as national resources. From classroom to ethnically diverse populations in our own nation and around the world, acceptance and promotion of foreign languages will help preserve these vital national resources.

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Communication and beyond

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Introduction

In recent years, the profession has drawn away from strict adherence to the theory of language as "habit formation" and has moved toward the generally accepted goal of developing the communicative proficiency of second-language students. Instead of being asked to manipulate grammatical forms and vocabulary words by rote, students use language to communicate real and meaningful messages. Teachers are concerned with providing materials and developing an atmosphere that will encourage students to express their thoughts, ideas, and opinions. It is, however, possible that language teaching still emphasizes the learning of fixed linguistic patterns. Asher (4) has commented on the general tendency of foreign language teaching to emphasize convergent or noncreative thinking: "As long as input equals output, the student is producing convergent thinking in the second language. When he begins to show that he understands 'novelty' (a recombination of constituents learned in training), competency in communication begins" (p. 177).

"Beyond communication" therefore implies that students be helped to realize the complex nature of language which allows the creation of an infinite set of utterances from a finite set of words, phrases, and rules (Chomsky, 22). As Lenard (71) has stated: " 'Language is invention.' It has no existence apart from the speaker or the writer who recreates, reinvents

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the language for his own needs each time he uses it" (p. 36). A similar view of language was expressed by Birkmaier: "Every time a human being has to say something he *creates* an utterance which will fit that which *he* wants to express" (12, p. 345). Many foreign language educators have emphasized the importance of creativity in second-language learning and teaching (Christensen, 24; Lafayette, 66; Rivers, 89; Stanislawczyk and Yavener, 100; and Strasheim, 104). Ostijić (84) believes that a more creative approach to teaching will increase the verbal ability of students and develop greater flexibility in expression. As Girard (38) has indicated, however, there has not yet been an approach to language teaching that fully capitalizes on the student's creative potential.

The purpose of this chapter is, therefore, to examine the interdependence of the creative process and the communication process and to seek possible answers to the following questions: What are the various dimensions of creativity and what are their contributions to second-language learning and teaching? What is the relationship between communicative competence and creative abilities? Are limits placed on communication potential if students are not encouraged to give multiple answers, to experiment with language, to engage in verbal play, to try out new ideas within the framework of a new and unfamiliar linguistic system? What are the contributions of creative problem solving to second-language learning? What kind of classroom atmosphere is conducive to creative language behavior?

Dimensions of creativity

A recognition of the complex nature of creativity and the multiplicity of meanings attached to this elusive term is important before considering its implications for second-language learning and teaching. This chapter thus begins with a brief synthesis of the different dimensions of creativity in order to examine more closely the independence and the interdependence of the meanings attached to its various aspects. According to Ausubel (5), the ambiguity and confusion surrounding the word "creativity" results from a failure to distinguish adequately between "creativity as a rare and unique manifestation of talent in a particular field of endeavor and as a general constellation of supportive intellectual abilities, personality variables, and problem solving traits" (p. 553).

Artistic creativity

Creativity is often considered the domain of those artists, composers, writers, or scientists who possess a special talent that sets them apart from society. Ghiselin (37) has described the creativity of these rare and unique individuals as a "process of change, of development, of evolution in the organization of subjective life" (p. 2). Generally accepted is the idea that the imaginative work of these individuals in some way alters our view of the universe or introduces some new element of meaning into our lives.

Humanistic creativity

Another view of creativity is presented by humanistic philosophers or psychologists. Rogers (91), for example, believes that the desire to be creative is closely related to "man's tendency to actualize himself, to become his potential" (p. 72). Rather than restrict the trait to a group of highly talented people or to "those processes through which novelty can be achieved" (Stein, 101, p. 35), Rogers believes that the potential for creative expression "exists in every individual and awaits only the proper conditions to be released and expressed" (91, p. 66). Maslow (74) concurs with Rogers and indicates that he differentiates between the talent of a great musician or artist and the potential for creativity that exists in all human beings. This potential, according to Maslow (73), is often lost as individuals become socialized and lose the fresh and direct way of looking at life that they possessed as children. Thus, for Maslow, creativity consists of seeing the world with new eyes. He believes that a distinction between special-talent creativity and the potential for creative expression that exists in each individual is important because it discourages an "all-or-none" definition of the concept that would effectively dichotomize it into the "have" and the "have nots," the "creative" and the "not creative" individual.

Creativity in the psychological laboratory

While Maslow and Rogers describe creativity in philosophical terms, experimental and laboratory psychologists consider it to be an intellectual or personality trait susceptible to empirical study by observing the behavior of those people who have clearly demonstrated creative talents. This approach has generally been limited to cognitive or intellectual factors which are measured and examined more easily and objectively than personality or social variables (Stein, 101).

The eminent psychologist J. P. Guilford has been perhaps the most closely associated with this dimension of creativity as a result of his development of the structure-of-intellect model (SI Model). A brief outline of Guilford's SI model will be presented because it illustrates and clarifies various dimensions of creative behavior.

Guilford's structure-of-intellect model

Background

Previous to the development of Guilford's SI model, many psychologists and educators supported the view that there is one general factor of intelligence—a general intellectual ability that encompasses and explains all other intellectual abilities. In contrast, Guilford believes that the concept of general intellectual ability is an inadequate explanation of the complex nature of the human intellect and prefers to view human intelligence as the sum total of many separate and identifiable factors. Guilford's SI model has developed from a systematic application of factor analysis to hypothesized intellectual abilities. Almost all of the 120 separate factors identified by Guilford and his associates have been validated (Klausmeier and Ripple, 61). Guilford has organized these factors into a three-dimensional structure-of-intellect model (see Figure 1) with the five cognitive operations of *cognition, memory, convergent production, divergent production,* and *evaluation* along one dimension.

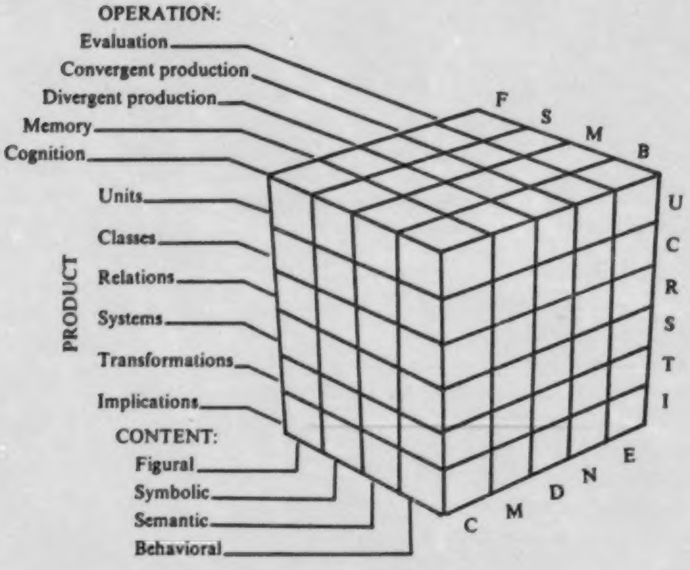
OPERATION:
Evaluation
Convergent production
Divergent production
Memory
Cognition
F
S
M
B
PRODUCT
Units
Classes
Relations
Systems
Transformations
Implications
U
C
R
S
T
I
CONTENT:
Figural
Symbolic
Semantic
Behavioral
C
M
D
N
E

Fig. 1. Guilford's three-dimensional structure-of-intellect model (from Guilford, 42.)

Along the second dimension are the *figural, symbolic, semantic,* and *behav-*

ioral content categories which refer to the kinds of material or content involved. Products, which result when a certain operation is applied to a certain kind of material, are organized along the third dimension and are classified as *units, classes, relations, systems, transformations,* or *implications.* Thus each cell of the SI model is described in terms of operations, content, and product, and from each of these combinations an intellectual ability can be inferred. The following discussion of the SI model will include brief descriptions of cognitive operations, content, and products. For a more detailed discussion, the reader is referred directly to Guilford (42, 43).

Cognitive operations

Although cognitive operations are arranged along a continuum, Guilford (42) does not imply a definitive hierarchy or taxonomy of cognitive processing. There is, however, an increasing dependency of one cognitive operation upon the others from the front to the back of the model. The definitions of cognitive operations are as follows:

1 *Cognition* represents the possession of information—its discovery, rediscovery, or recognition. It also refers to an awareness, comprehension, or understanding of information in various terms.
2 *Memory* refers to the retention or storage of information in the same form in which it was committed to storage and in connection with the same cues with which it was first learned.
3 *Convergent production* calls for one right answer (or at least one keyed answer) and is the type of processing called for when the stimulus material is sufficient to determine a unique answer.
4 *Divergent production* is the type of processing that "goes off" in different directions, makes possible a change of direction in problem solving, and leads to a variety of answers in a situation in which more than one answer is acceptable.
5 *Evaluation* is defined as a process that compares given information with known information and requires a decision about the suitability, goodness, or correctness of that information according to logical and predetermined criteria.

Content and products

Content deals with the type of material involved in processing information. *Figural* content may be visual in form, i.e., units which have shape, size, or color, and may be auditory, tactual, or kinesthetic. *Symbolic* content is represented by letters, digits, musical notations, and words where meaning is not taken into account. *Semantic* content, by contrast, deals with verbal meanings and abstract ideas. *Behavioral* content or "social intelligence" refers to essentially nonverbal information such as moods, perceptions, thoughts, and intentions involved in human interactions.

As many as six general kinds of products result from the application of an operation to a particular kind of content. *Units* are things, segregated wholes, and thoughts to which nouns are usually applied. *Class* is defined as a kind of product represented by a conceptual category to which similar items of information are assigned. A *relation* represents a link or connection between two things, whereas *systems* are integrated and interconnecting units of information. *Transformations* are changes, revisions, and redefinitions by which information in one state is changed or transformed into another. *Implications* are things expected, predicted, or anticipated from given information.

Divergent production and creativity

Guilford (41) has hypothesized that various factors in the divergent production category are closely related to creativity: 1) *fluency*, that is, the ability to produce a large number of ideas in a given period of time where success is measured in the quantity of ideas produced; 2) *flexibility*, or the ability to produce a diversity of ideas belonging to different classes; and 3) *originality*, which is the ability to produce uncommon, unconventional, or clever ideas such as listing innovative titles for a short story. Other factors which Guilford considers important are a sensitivity to problems, synthesizing and analyzing ability, the ability to reorganize or redefine a given idea, the ability to handle complexity (i.e., to manipulate a number of different ideas at the same time), and evaluative ability. As Meeker (76) indicates, divergent production abilities are a necessary but not sufficient condition for creativity.

Educational implications of the SI model

For educators who are becoming increasingly aware of the complexity of the individual learner, the SI model provides a theoretical framework that captures the richness and diversity of human intelligence. By identifying the various components of the human intellect, Guilford has provided not only an alternative view to the traditional concept of general intelligence but also a new way of describing human intelligence. Instead of categorizing all human beings according to their general intellectual ability, the SI model recognizes a diversity of intellectual abilities, possessed by each individual to some degree or another. Klausmeier and Ripple (61) believe this to be the most important contribution of the SI model.

The recognition that verbal intelligence is merely one component of the complex structure of the intellect (and the hypothesized relationship between divergent production abilities and creativity) has contributed to a change of perspective in education. This change of perspective has generated a renewed interest in creativity and a more general concern on the part of educators for both developing the creative potential of every student and providing the opportunity for creative responses in all content areas.

Creativity in an educational context

Educators such as Wilson et al. (115) and Cole and Parsons (28) have been concerned with incorporating more creativity into the structure of the school curriculum. They believe that school practices in American education generally emphasize the development of cognition, memory, and convergent production abilities. Getzels and Jackson (36) caution educators to remember that learning not only involves the remembering of course content but also includes the production of novelty, that is, "discovering as well as recalling" (p. 7). They identify two basic cognitive or intellectual modes of learning that have implications for the teaching-learning process. The first, which focuses on learning and retaining the known, is represented by intellectual acquisitiveness and conformity. The second represents intellectual inquisitiveness and innovation which allow "revision of the known, exploration of the unknown, and constructing what might be" (p. 14). While not advocating abolition of course content as a valid educational goal, they suggest that teachers become more aware of the creative process and actively encourage its development in the classroom.

From concerns such as these, classroom teachers and educators have attempted to provide more opportunities for stimulating the creative potential of their students. Torrance (106) has been instrumental in developing an educational environment that places a high value on creativity and that helps students develop abilities conducive to divergent thinking and behavior. He stressed that creativity is a valuable resource that enables one to cope with the daily pressures of life and that the ability to become more aware of problems, conceive of viable solutions, and then test their effectiveness makes for the "fully functioning person" described by Rogers and Maslow.

While the educators just cited (36, 41, 106) urge teachers to provide supportive environments for the truly creative child, they also believe that all children have a potential for creative behavior and should have an opportunity to actualize this potential. The theoretical basis for the inclusion of creative activities in the classroom is, for the most part, drawn from Guilford's concept of a multifaceted view of human intelligence and the assumption that these abilities can be improved with training (Guilford, 41; Meeker, 76; Stein, 101). Philosophical bases are drawn from the work of humanistic philosophers such as Rogers and Maslow who share the belief that the school should be instrumental in encouraging creative growth.

Wilson et al. (115) describe a process which they call "microcreativity, that is, the elemental structure of creativity that emerges as the retrieval or restructuring of knowledge including the evaluation of the product in a very narrow experience" (p. 195). For example, students are asked to integrate a short list of vocabulary words they have learned into an original paragraph or story. The standards used to evaluate a more complex task cannot, however, be applied to a microcreative effort, especially when the students have limited experience and training in the subject-matter area. Parnes (86) suggests that the creative product of the student "be evaluated in terms of the person producing it. What is new to one person is 'old hat' to another. At each one's level and with each one's raw material, he can experience the creative process whether or not he can make a creative contribution to society as a whole" (p. 35).

Such an approach to education is not, however, without its critics. Ausubel (5) criticizes the "militant sentimentality" [that] underlies the currently popular educational objective of making *every* child a creative thinker" (p. 559). Stein (101) believes the term "creativity" should not be democratized, but rather should be reserved for those individuals who have made a significant contribution to knowledge and whose work has been generally accepted as worthwhile.

The importance of creative problem-solving activities

The increased interest in divergent production and creative behavior is accompanied by a renewed emphasis on the development of the problem-solving abilities of students. As Shane has pointed out earlier in this volume, there is "*a trend from reliance on rote learning to a focus on problem solving.* Information and skills should be developed for *use* and *adaptation* rather than for mere *possession*" (p. 15). Guilford (41) has emphasized the close relationship between creativity and problem solving: "In solving a problem, an individual is forced to do something new in the way of behavior; new for him, that is.... To the extent that problem solving includes something new or novel it involves creative thinking" (p. 122).

Various problem-solving models have been suggested to describe this process (Dewey, 31; Guilford, 42; Osborn, 83; Parnes, 86; Rossman, 93; Stein, 101; and Wallas, 113). With the exception of Guilford's more elaborate information-processing model, each of these conceptualizations share at least three general stages: 1) definition of a problem, 2) generation of hypotheses, and 3) selection and implementation of a solution.

As Guilford and Tenopyr (45) have stated, "problem solving is about as broad as behavior itself; consequently, training for more effective production behavior must be general" (p. 34). They suggest that educators develop general problem-solving ability by giving students actual practice in solving a variety of tasks. Parnes (86) has incorporated these two dimensions in his basic training program for creative problem solving which synthesizes the theories of Osborn (83), best known for his development of brain-storming techniques, Maslow, and Guilford. The basic goals of this program are to "develop the student's ability to think creatively, rather than instill knowledge. . . . " (Parnes, 85, p. 187). He specifically trains individuals to sense and define problems, to defer judgment in order to break out of traditional modes of thinking, to see new relationships, to evaluate and implement ideas, and to discover new facts (86, p. 101–2).

Ausubel (5), on the other hand, states that "aspects of problem solving that are more specific to a given discipline undoubtedly influence problem-solving outcomes more significantly than do those hints about problem solving in general" (p. 550). He, therefore, advises educators to give students a general knowledge of the problem-solving process but to focus their attention on the development of subject-matter knowledge and specific problem-solving strategies designed for particular areas of study.

Linguistic creativity

Chomsky's (22) view of linguistic creativity has important implications for the second-language classroom. He rejects long-accepted theoretical and experimental theories of language learning—in particular, theories of association and reinforcement—as inadequate explanations of language learning. He states categorically that "Language is not a 'habit structure'. Ordinary linguistic behavior characteristically involves innovation, formation of new sentences and new patterns in accordance with rules of great abstractness and intricacy" (21, p. 44). The creative aspect of language allows speaker and hearer to both understand and produce "an indefinite number of expressions that are new to one's experience, that bear no simple physical resemblance and are in no simple way analogous to the expressions that constitute one's linguistic experience" (20, p. 100).

Although language behavior is primarily creative, it is not random or arbitrary, but it rather conforms to a set of internalized rules. Chomsky (23) emphasized: "A person is not generally aware of the rules that govern sentence interpretation in that language that he knows; nor, in fact, is there any reason to suppose that the rules can be brought to consciousness" (p. 10).

Chomsky (21) expressed his skepticism about the relationship between linguistics, psychology, and language teaching but indicated that the creative aspects of language may have implications for the teaching of language. While at that time he suggested no specific pedagogical applications, he later advocated the development of a teaching procedure "designed in such a way as to give free play to those creative principles that human beings bring to the process of language learning" (in Engels, 32, p. 1).

Creativity in the second-language classroom

Possible dimensions

The continuum of creativity ranging from the truly artistic to the microcreative suggests three possible dimensions of creativity in the second-language learning situation. Each of these dimensions has important implications for the teaching-learning process and provides new directions for research and inquiry.

Guilford's distinction between convergent and divergent production provides a theoretical basis for the first dimension of creativity. By emphasizing a divergent rather than a convergent approach to second-language learning, teachers can facilitate the production of multiple rather than single answers and encourage students to utilize more fully the vocabulary and grammar in their linguistic repertoires.

A second dimension is the inclusion of more activities that allow students to use their imagination within the framework of a second language. While the development of the imagination is not one of the primary goals of second-language learning, the incorporation of original and creative activities into the language curriculum expands the range of self-expression for the student and allows for greater flexibility and variety in the classroom.

A creative problem-solving approach, which requires an increased understanding of various aspects of the communication process and develops many divergent-production abilities and general problem-solving skills, provides the third dimension. Such an approach serves as a framework within which students learn to solve more effectively the varied problems—both linguistic and nonlinguistic—that they encounter in communication exchanges.

Second-language creativity: A definition

Guilford and Tenopyr (45) define creativity as "a mental process or interrelated set of processes in which an individual generates information he did not have before." They add that: "Many students do little more than 'invent the wheel' again. However, if a student's end product is something he has never thought before, that person has exhibited creative behavior" (p. 29). Such behavior in the second language might occur when students restructure or retrieve information that they did not have before or recombine elements of language to express something that they have not yet expressed. Jian and Hester (58) state that creativity in second-language learning "generally implies that everyone has something a little different to say even about the most ordinary things" (p. xiii).

Thus, creativity in the second-language learning situation leads to the production of language, knowledge, or ideas that are new to the student. It can refer to the act of putting together words in combinations that the student has never before uttered; it can refer to the solving of problems of a linguistic, sociolinguistic, or nonverbal nature in a more creative and effective way; or it can refer to the production of imaginative works in the second language.

Limitations

In adapting this approach to language learning and teaching, it is important to bear in mind the differences between native language tasks and these same or similar tasks in the second language. Tasks focusing on the production of multiple answers may cause only minor difficulties for students using their native language. Second-language students, especially in the early stages of learning, can be frustrated by the extensive search and retrieval operations necessary in totally productive tasks. Not only must they produce new ideas, but they must also express their ideas within the confines of a new and unfamiliar linguistic framework. In the classroom situation, this difficulty can be partially solved by 1) the presence of the teacher, who can serve as a "floating memory bank" and help students with the production of both language and ideas, 2) examples or model sentences that stimulate the student's imagination, and 3) directions that refer students to previous activities that help them to recall vocabulary and grammar structures.

Additionally, carefully structured activities in which the necessary linguistic and ideational information is provided allow for the production of responses without causing undue frustration for the student. It is important to keep in mind Rivers' (90) admonition that creative and innovative use of language "still takes place within a restricted framework, a finite set of formal arrangements to which the speaker's utterances must conform if he is to be comprehended and thus to communicate effectively" (p. 12). As Stanislawczyk and Yavener (100) note, "too much behavioristically inspired guidance leads to 'linguistic lockjaw'; while too much freedom brings inauthentic expression" (p. 49).

Because a student's creative language potential is determined only by the amount of vocabulary and structures he has experienced, activities that encourage divergent responses within a linguistically limited context must be designed.

Divergent production in the second-language classroom

Guilford's divergent-production category stresses creative responses, diversity in thinking, and the production of a variety of responses. This category of cognitive processing which involves flexibility, fluency, and originality seems to be related to the ability to communicate in a second language. The presence of such a relationship was indicated in a study conducted by Bartz (7) who investigated learner factors and the ability to communicate in German. Relationships were reported between fluency, flexibility, and originality (as measured by *The Torrance Tests of Creative Thinking*) and the productive skills of speaking and writing on measures of communicative competence. Although Bartz reported correlations between first-language intellectual abilities and measures of second-language communicative competence, it is also possible that training and practice in divergent-production tasks could facilitate the development of communicative proficiency in second-language learners.

With these considerations in mind, several categories of convergent or single-answer tasks, and divergent, or multiple-answer tasks, will be presented. Although many other classifications of classroom activities are useful (e.g., Rivers, 89, 90, distinction between "skill-getting" and "skill-using" activities; Paulston's, 88, continuum of manipulative, meaningful, and communicative language use; Knorre's, 62, and Valette and Disick's, 112, adaptations of Bloom's (13) taxonomy), the distinction between convergent and divergent tasks is important because it not only provides another useful dimension of language processing, but also relates to a discussion of communication in the second-language classroom. Both convergent and divergent operations include abilities needed to complete many of the tasks required in the learning of a second language; in addition, they focus on two different types of cognitive processing needed to produce answers or generate ideas—one of the primary abilities that the classroom teacher tries to develop.

Convergent tasks

Convergent tasks include those activities that require the processing of information in order to produce a single right answer that is uniquely determined by the language provided. Convergent tasks include, for example, the familiar multiple-choice and matching formats as well as responding to either-or, yes-no, or true-false statements. Scrambled sentences, which require students to reorder sentence fragments into their normal syntactic order, are another example of convergent language use, as illustrated by the following activity (Knorre et. al., 64). Students are asked to unscramble sentences and then, in order to ensure meaningful processing, are asked to judge whether the sentence is true or false:

> country life/less personal/is/city life=
> City life is less personal than country life.

Allen and Valette (3) suggest that teachers select a well-organized paragraph from a reader or textbook and scramble the order of the sentences. Students are then asked to reorder the sentences into a meaningful and coherent paragraph.

Convergent tasks which focus on the production of a single answer are important in providing opportunities for a beginning language student to practice with recently learned grammatical structures or vocabulary clusters. Because the answer to be produced is determined by the language provided, there is less potential frustration, and fewer decisions need to be made by the student.

Divergent-production tasks

Divergent tasks, on the other hand, emphasize thinking in a variety of directions and lead to the subsequent production of a variety of responses determined only in part by the language provided. Communication is often open-ended. The communicator who wishes to transmit a message or elaborate his ideas must therefore make many decisions. More systematic use of divergent tasks would provide students with increased practice in the production of multiple responses, thereby increasing his/her linguistic flexibility and fluency.

Two general types of divergent-production tasks can be identified: guided or structured, and free. Guided divergent-production tasks, in a sense, "prime the pump" (Knorre, 63); that is, they include the linguistic information necessary to help students retrieve a vocabulary word or grammatical structure as well as provide an ideational framework that suggests possible ideas and directions of thinking.

One of the primary mechanisms for the guided divergent task is the sentence-builder format, which requires students to combine partial sentence fragments given in separate columns into meaningful sentences. The example below (Jarvis et al., 55) illustrates the potential for divergent production inherent in this mechanism even at early stages of language learning.

Down with
Long live
Stop
Eliminate
Liberate
etc.
?

society
cigarettes
war
pollution
professors
etc.
?

To encourage greater flexibility, creativity, and originality and to make the format more compatible with Guilford's (42) emphasis on the productive aspect of this type of information processing, a question mark (?) is added. In this way, students are invited to create their own answers either by combining elements included on the list of possibilities or by adding original answers. Thus, less linguistically secure students may choose answers from those provided while more secure or creative students may wish to add responses that represent their ideas more adequately.

Open-ended completion items are also illustrative of divergent-production tasks. Completion formats may be structured to provide linguistic and ideational security and to encourage a diversity of responses. In such formats, students are asked to complete sentences by choosing one or more of the options provided or by creating an answer of their own.

Paragraph writing provides ample opportunity for divergent production on the part of the student. Guided composition is not a new concept to foreign language teachers, who realize the importance of providing structure to the beginning student. This may be achieved by giving students a list of questions to answer, as the example below illustrates (Lenard, 72):

> *A day in your life as a student.* Where are you at seven o'clock? At eight o'clock? Why? What is your first class like? What time is it? What is the professor like? Do you have to go to work? Why? What's your job like? What is a good time of the day for you? What is a good day? A bad day? Terrible day? Conclusion? What is life like for a student such as yourself?

Dehydrated sentences also provide a framework for writing activities. This format requires students to recombine sentence fragments into paragraph form, adding the necessary linguistic information such as the example below illustrates (Hagiwara and de Rocher, 46):

1 Il/être/dix/heure/et/cours/français/être/terminé.
2 Je/quitter/classe/et/rencontrer/Jean-Paul/dans/couloir.
3 Je/montrer/livre/français/et/il/regarder/illustration, etc.

Vocabulary and grammatical structures can also be provided by means of a paragraph-completion format (Jarvis et al., 57). This activity permits greater flexibility at an early stage of language learning. Students are asked to write a paragraph using this model:

I've been dreaming for a long time about . . . (1). This project fascinates me because I really like . . . (2), etc.

Possible options are suggested to the student and a ? allows the production of additional answers.

1 a taking a trip to Scandinavia
  b visiting our national parks
  c spending a year traveling around the world

d exploring the Nile Valley
e buying a camera
f ?
2 a archeology
b foreign languages
c sports
d nature
e freedom
f ?

Allen and Valette (3) have developed a "cued dialogue" technique that asks students to write out complete dialogues using the brief cues the teacher provides:

Waiter: Want?
Client: Specialty?
Waiter: Steak.
etc.

Likewise, multiple-choice items have tended to encourage convergent thinking by requiring one right answer that is dependent upon the context. Kettering (60) asks students what they would do if they were invited to dinner and were served liver, a food they could not stand. Students choose from the answers provided or create answers of their own:

a Excuse yourself and tell her you suddenly feel ill.
b Explain to her that you just don't like liver.
c Try to eat the liver and pretend you like it.
d Don't say anything and just don't eat it but eat a lot of the other food.
e ?
f ?

Structured divergent activities should be viewed as a preparatory phase in the language-learning process. True divergent production, however, results when the student is required to produce in a recombined and reorganized form previously learned structures and vocabulary in order to communicate a message. Thus, the structured activities outlined in this section prepare the student for open-ended tasks that more closely simulate real communication situations where the student, rather than the structure of an activity, is the decision maker.

Open-ended or free divergent tasks include unguided paragraph writing, role playing, simulations, debates, and unstructured conversation. "List-making" activities not only focus on the practice of grammatical structures and/or vocabulary, but also require the student to produce language in unstructured communication situations. Additionally, such activities tap

Guilford's categories of ideational fluency and flexibility. Zelson (117), for example, suggests that students practice the imperfect by telling six things they used to do to annoy members of their family or practice the future by making up ten New Year's resolutions for themselves or another person. Valette and Valette (111) ask students to prepare shopping lists and to list foods that are served (or not served) in their university restaurants. Christensen (25), Christensen and Wolfe (26), and Garfinkel et al. (35) have also incorporated list-making activities into their instructional materials. Birckbichler and Omaggio (11) have suggested that students practice vocabulary by trying to generate as many possible words from a given category, e.g., list all the clothing that you can think of that people wear in the summer, or list things that are round. Students could also be asked to generate, alone or in a group, possible uses of a brick or pencil; list appropriate or clever titles for short stories or dialogues; or propose possible consequences of an unusual event (e.g., the repeal of all laws). These activities are adaptations of tasks suggested by Guilford (42) and Parnes (86). Debyser and Laitenberger (30) suggest activities that follow Osborn's (83) general rules of brainstorming: "1) Judicial judgment is ruled out, 2) free wheeling is welcomed, 3) quantity is wanted, and 4) combination and improvement are sought" (pp. 300–301). Students are asked to modify an object or an idea, improve it, associate it with other objects, design other uses, or replace it with an improved product or idea.

Visuals can also be used to stimulate divergent production. Although a context is provided, students are free to describe or provide captions for the visual in any way they choose. In addition to their obvious advantages in providing reading practice and cultural insights, cartoons are an abundant resource for encouraging student creativity. According to Brown (17) "comics have been relatively ignored" (p. 18) and their pedagogical applications not fully realized. He suggests that students give captions for individual cartoons or write the dialogue for a cartoon strip. Boylan and Omaggio (14) suggest similar activities and add that students can exercise their imaginations by thinking of captions that fit a picture taken from a magazine or other source. Rivers (89), believes that pictures illustrating an emotional or humorous encounter or an incongruous situation provoke student thought more readily. Students can also make up want ads or advertisements based on target-language samples that are given as models (Boylan and Omaggio, 14, and Rivers, 89). These ads can be as realistic or as imaginative as the students desire.

The activities described here are only a few of the possible divergent tasks that can be used in the classroom for oral and written communicative practice. Many of these activities have long been part of classroom teaching techniques; others have been developed and emphasized more recently. They share, however, a focus on the process of *divergent production* which encourages multiple rather than single answers, provides opportunities for original and creative responses, and allows the student to see the variety of responses that can be generated from a limited linguistic framework.

Creative problem solving

As the profession becomes increasingly sophisticated in its knowledge of the communication process and develops activities that are more real and meaningful, students are asked to engage in tasks of a more complex nature. Not only must they make linguistic decisions but they must make semantic ones as well. They must learn not only to transmit a message but also to communicate it effectively *and affectively* to a fellow communicator. If accurate and appropriate decisions are made, the message will be received and understood. If not, the student has encountered a problem that must be identified and resolved. Instead of developing their own coping strategies in random and unsystematic ways, second-language learners can benefit from a general understanding of the problem-solving process as well as from specific techniques designed to help them resolve difficulties of a linguistic, sociolinguistic, or nonverbal nature. The three general stages of the problem-solving process give students a framework within which they can learn to 1) identify problems, 2) generate hypotheses, and 3) select and implement a solution.

In order to identify problems, students should have a general understanding of the various sources of communication difficulties. As Guilford and Tenopyr (45) indicate: "The student cannot be expected to solve a problem effectively unless his cognitive abilities are developed to the point at which he understands the situation surrounding the problem. Recognition and correct definition of problems are crucial and often quite difficult. Everyone has certainly seen someone who has failed to note what seemed to be an obvious problem or 'has spun his wheels' trying to solve the wrong problem" (p. 35). In this regard, teachers should help students become aware of and more sensitive to problems that may interfere with the communication process.

Stage 2—the generation of hypotheses—is dependent upon the student's ability to produce multiple solutions to given problems. Students should therefore practice producing suitable solutions to problems they might encounter in communication interchanges. Stage 3—the implementation or choice of an appropriate solution—is also based on a knowledge of various problem areas in communication. Teachers can give students practice in selecting appropriate solutions and in evaluating their relative effectiveness in a given situation.

The next sections of this chapter focus on three general problem areas for students learning to communicate in a second language: linguistic, sociolinguistic, and nonverbal factors. A brief description of each is provided as well as various techniques that will help students become more aware of these areas and develop more effective communication strategies. They can then solve problems encountered in communication exchanges more creatively.

Problem solving: Linguistic factors

Westphal (114) believes that "we must teach our students how to transfer their communication skills, imperfect though they may be, from English to the target language. It is a mistake to assume that the foreign language learners will transfer these skills automatically" (pp. 38–39). She states that students should be made aware that they already know a good deal intuitively about the communication process and that the beginning level is an ideal time to bring about this awareness. She suggests that students examine a sentence such as "A harzgung ompels its ripbuck and can ubbilize many gartooks." Their knowledge of structural clues in English will help them understand many parts of a seemingly incomprehensible utterance. Because many students have never had the experience of trying to communicate with a non-native speaker of English, she also suggests that students listen to a tape recording of a conversation with a non-native speaker and examine how accent, grammatical proficiency, and range of vocabulary influenced their ability to understand.

Savignon (94) has also stressed the importance of giving the second-language learner "strategies to cope with the linguistic disadvantages with which he inevitably finds himself" (p. 1). In order that students better understand the difficulties they may encounter in communicating in a second language, Savignon suggests that they think about exchanges that they have had with non-native speakers of English and examine their reactions to such questions as: "How did they know they were talking to someone who had learned English as a second language?,' "What kind of errors did the person make—pronunciation, vocabulary, or grammar?," "Were they impatient at any difficulties they may have had in understanding?" (p. 1). Similarly, students might ask themselves questions in order to define the locus of a problem situation: "Is it because I can't find the word?" "Is it because I don't know a grammatical structure?" "What do I do when I don't know a word or structure?"

Language teachers often tell their students not to become easily frustrated when they do not know a vocabulary word or grammatical structure and suggest that students find a different but equivalent way of expressing the same word or thought. Seldom, though, are students given practice in the "skillful art of paraphrasing." Semantic matching activities similar to the following developed by Jarvis et al. (56) increase student awareness of equivalent meanings. Students are asked to find paraphrases of the sentences given in column A:

A	B
1 I hate cooking.	a Is life in Montreal pleasant?

2 You don't have any tact.
3 Do you like Montreal?
4 He doesn't have any money.

b He is not rich.
c I don't like to prepare dinner.
d You aren't very diplomatic.

Birckbichler and Omaggio (11) have suggested that students complete individual or group brainstorming activities, a technique developed by Osborn (83). Students are asked to generate multiple ways of expressing a given statement such as "John hates movies" or "Jeannette is not very happy." Games, such as "Password" or "You don't say," which require students to give a definition of a word or an object without giving the key word, are an entertaining way to practice paraphrasing.

Omaggio's (82) "Jigsaw Puzzle" technique not only provides paraphrasing practice but also encourages a spirit of group cooperation. Students form groups of four or five and are given cards, each with a word on it. They describe their word in the foreign language to the others in the group without actually using it. When all students have described their word successfully, the students take the first letter of each word and see what new word can be formed from the letters. Each student might also be asked to describe part of a room, after which the group examines all the words used in order to decide which room of the house has been described.

The "Rose technique" (Rose et al., 92) adapted for classroom use by Boylan and Omaggio (14) illustrates how visual materials (drawings, photographs, magazine pictures or advertisements, paintings, etc.) can be used to develop paraphrasing ability. Students are placed in pairs or small groups. One student has a picture which he or she describes to the others in the group. Their task is to reproduce the drawing according to the description given to them. Questions can be asked during this activity to clarify or elaborate information. The success of the activity depends upon how well the two pictures match. Thus students are not only required to be flexible in their descriptions but also to listen carefully to each other.

Students frequently experience difficulty in initiating a conversation or in responding to the questions or statements of others because they do not make sufficient use of their linguistic and ideational creativity. Holmes and Brown (51) believe that students need practice in contributing to a conversation, in providing elaborative statements which serve as an impetus to further communication, and in learning to assume the responsibility for developing a conversation themselves. To help students develop skill in elaborating, Holmes and Brown suggest that students both respond to a question and ask an additional one themselves. A model is provided and students fill in the missing statements and questions.

A: Where are you going to study?
B: In Auckland. Can you tell me what the climate is like there?
A: What course will you do [take]?

B: ?
A: Where are you studying?
B: ?

As a next step, Holmes and Brown suggest that students be asked to answer a question, supply additional information, and then ask an appropriate question:

A: Are you a student?
B: Yes, I've come to study commerce. Are you a student?
A: Have you found a satisfactory place to live?
B: ?

Activities such as these could easily be incorporated into the classroom and adapted to various levels of linguistic ability. Jarvis et al. (56) have developed an interview format that provides structured practice in taking the initiative in a conversation. It provides elementary students with an initial question and related ones that will enable them to pursue a topic.

1 Do you like music?
  a What kind of music do you like?
  b Who is your favorite singer?
  c Do you like concerts?
  d ?

Birckbichler and Omaggio (11) suggest several activities that give students practice in question or sentence expansion. Students given an item such as "Do you like sports?" are asked to create additional questions relating to that topic (e.g., What is your favorite sport? Do you like to watch sports on television?, etc.) Practice in sentence expansion also enables students to become more aware of the ways in which sentences can be elaborated. Students are asked in turn to add clauses, adjectives, adverbs, etc., to a short sentence, making it progressively longer:

T: The woman is blond.
S_1: The woman who is standing over there is blond.
S_2: The woman who is standing over there by the window is blond.

The insertion of cue words (such as "because," "who," etc.) in students' written compositions is another tenchnique that will increase their ability to elaborate. Students might also be asked to give or choose a logical continuation to a statement (adapted from Mistler-Lachman, 78). Given the sentence "John decided to go to the movie Friday night," students might respond: "But it rained so hard he stayed home" or "He asked Mary to go with him."

Stanislawczyk and Yavener (100) have developed a chain-rejoinder technique which asks students to respond in a variety of ways to a teacher-initiated statement:

T: I'm going to Spain.
S_1: Great, me too.
S_2: When?
S_3: Saturday.
etc.

They also suggest an activity that asks students to elaborate by making contradictions to a teacher-initiated statement:

T: Cinderella's childhood was happy.
S_1: No, it was very unhappy.
S_2: She had to do all the hard work.
etc.

Such activities could be easily adapted to the linguistic material of a given unit, providing students with the opportunity to not only practice language but also develop greater ability in elaborating upon a specific statement or question.

Savignon (94) has emphasized the importance of conversational fillers such as the foreign language equivalents for "thing," "let's see," "I mean," "well, then," etc. Valette and Valette (111) have included lists of expressions to allow students to reinforce meaning of statements, to express positive or negative reactions, to attract attention, to express surprise, to apologize, or to preface a request.

Problem solving: Sociolinguistic factors

Creative communication also depends upon a knowledge of the sociolinguistic aspects of communication exchanges and the ability to respond appropriately. Sociolinguistics, in its broadest sense, can be defined "as the interaction of language structure and speech performance with special interaction and social structure" (Grimshaw, 40). As Fishman (33) explains, "... language is not merely a *means* of interpersonal communication and influence. It is not merely a *carrier* of content, whether latent or manifest. Language itself *is* content, a referent for loyalties and animosities, an indicator of social statuses and personal relationships, a marker of situations and topics as well as the societal goals and the large-scale value-laden arenas of interaction that typify every speech community" (p. 4). The second-language learner often experiences difficulty in social situations because of his limited knowledge of both the target language and the sociolinguistic aspects of his own and the target culture. According to Jacobson (53), sociolinguistic problems often result because the student "tends to be unistylistic in his speech behavior and thereby often violates the norms of interaction agreed upon by native speakers of the language" (p. 410). The activities described below are designed to help students gain a greater sensitivity to problems of a sociolinguistic nature so they can more accurately define problems, generate possible solutions, and make appropriate and judicious choices.

Inability to distinguish implicit from explicit meaning is a common problem for the second-language learner. Holmes and Brown (51) describe an activity that makes students more sensitive to the "latent function or social meaning of an utterance" (p. 425). Students are given the following example:

X: Isn't it awful weather? (The implication is that X thinks the weather is bad and expects Y to agree.)
Y_1: It certainly is. (Expressing agreement)
Y_2: Well, it's better than yesterday. (Expressing disagreement)

Students are then asked to generate sentences that express agreement or disagreement with the implicit meaning in sentences such as, "That's right, isn't it?" or "Wasn't that a boring lecture?" The authors also suggest that students examine the implications contained in sentence pairs: "Can you swim?" versus "Can't you swim?"

Jacobson (53) suggests a similar activity that gives students practice in distinguishing between a neutral and a sarcastic response. As a beginning step, dialogues such as the following can be constructed in which students substitute a sarcastic statement for a neutral statement:

A: I didn't wait for you last night.
B: That wasn't nice of you!
B_1: That was really nice of you!

As a second step, students can be asked to give neutral or sarcastic responses to questions or statements provided by the teacher. Kettering (60) has developed activities to help students learn to compliment, complain, give excuses or apologies, get someone's attention, and clarify misunderstandings. The following activity, "Hiding Feelings," exemplifies Kettering's approach. After studying sample phrases and dialogues illustrating various ways to hide one's feelings in both formal and informal situations, students generate appropriate responses in structured, semistructured, or unstructured situations. A semistructured situation is given below:

A: Don't I look different?
B: No . . . Oh! You got your hair cut!

A: I thought you'd never notice. Do you like it?
B: ?

An activity described by Holmes and Brown (51) gives students practice in avoiding a question they consider too personal. They suggest that students give a vague answer and then ask a question themselves. A model is provided and students are then asked to generate their own responses:

Situation 1:
A: Are you feeling homesick?
B: I'm not sure. Many things are very different here. Have you ever lived in another country?
Situation 2:
A: Do you like New Zealand food?
B: ?

As Paulston (87) indicates "We also need to teach our students to be sensitive to levels of style so that noting such levels becomes part of their language learning strategies" (pp. 354–55). Because style shifting is often problematic for students, Jacobson (53) suggests the following activity. Students read short dialogues, e.g.,

—Ma, I didn't expect you here at school.
—Your Dad will be back today.
—I thought he wouldn't come back until tomorrow.

After studying the style of interaction in each dialogue, students are asked to identify the speakers (e.g., peers, professor-student, brothers, mother-older son, etc.). At more advanced levels, Jacobson suggests that students first reassemble scrambled dialogues and then identify the speakers. As a further extension, students could be asked to compose dialogues, paying close attention to the appropriate style of interaction.

Friend (34) has developed a series of activities which increase students' sensitivity to general levels of formal, informal, and nonstandard style. Students are asked to role-play a given situation:

> The registrar has just called to report that you are improperly registered for this course. You may have to repeat it next quarter although you have been attending regularly.
> a Tell your closest friend about the problem.
> b Talk to your advisor about it.
> c Call your family and tell them about the mix-up.

Responses are discretely tape-recorded so that students can later listen to the tapes, identify the level of style being used, and discuss the various aspects of vocabulary and syntax used in each. Friend also suggests that written statements be distributed to small groups. Their task is to 1) identify whether the example is formal, informal, or nonstandard speech; 2) create a hypothetical situation for the utterance; and 3) formulate equivalent statements for the remaining two levels of discourse.

Appropriate utterances depend on the role relationship of the speakers and the social setting. Greater sensitivity to the congruence between situation and appropriate utterances can be developed by using an activity suggested by Holmes and Brown (51). Students are asked to match situations (e.g., getting out of a bus, wanting to leave a party, finding the cost of something) with an appropriate remark (e.g., "How much is this please?," "Excuse me, please," "Would you like some help?," or silence). Students can also generate their own first remarks for given situations. In either case, the activity leads to an examination of differences and similarities between appropriate remarks in the students' own culture and that of the target culture.

Although the nuances of speech in social situations are difficult to grasp and require an intimate knowledge of the target culture, activities such as those described above should help students learn to cope more effectively with problems of a sociolinguistic nature.

Problem solving: Nonverbal factors

Greater and more systematic efforts can be made to acquaint students with nonverbal aspects of communication interchanges. According to Birdwhistle (in Harrison, 49), nonverbal behavior comprises 65 percent of the social meaning of utterances while only 35 percent is transmitted via verbal communication. The areas of nonverbal behavior of greatest importance for the second-language classroom are: 1) *kinesics,* the study of movement, bodily actions, gestures, posture; 2) *proxemics,* the use of space and how it affects communication; and 3) *paralinguistics,* voice quality, pitch, resonance, sighs, laughter, etc. (Harrison, 48).

Solving problems of a nonverbal nature involves two different but complementary aspects: The first is an increased understanding of the role of nonverbal communication in general, and the second includes a greater understanding of the specific aspects of nonverbal behavior in the second-language culture. This awareness will help the student understand more clearly that the success of a communication depends on a variety of factors and that language is "only one of the many kinds of signals that people can exchange. . . . " (Miller, 77, p. 240).

Clark et al. (27) suggest activities easily adaptable to the second-language learning situation. They ask students to observe someone giving a speech or lecture and then discuss the use of gestures and their relative effectiveness. Students can also study a short movie first with the sound off, making notes on the use of proxemics and body language, then with the sound on, allowing for comparisons of the differences and relative importance of body language, verbal communication, and proxemics. Students can also be asked to evaluate and discuss the effectiveness of various classroom seating arrangments: Which ones do you prefer? Why? Which grouping made communication easier? More difficult?

Hall and Hall (47) describe an activity that asks students to examine and discuss photographs in order to determine how emotions are conveyed by facial expressions and body language. Students can generate verbal equivalents of the nonverbal message or choose appropriate captions or sentences from those provided by the teacher.

Charades can also be used as a springboard for a discussion of nonverbal behavior (Tubbs and Moss, 110). Clark et al. (27) suggest silent situational role-playing (e.g., a man trying to be friendly with a woman who really does not wish to be bothered but who does not want to be impolite). McKim and Price (in Morrow and Strasheim, 79) ask students to form groups of six and prepare three-minute skits (e.g., an incident at school or at home). Three members of the group present the skit orally but without using facial expressions, body language, or emotions. The other three silently role-play the situation. Follow-up discussions focus on the importance of nonverbal behavior in transmitting information.

Instead of asking the student to mime a given situation (such as being hungry or being sad), the teacher can give the students a card that reads: "Do not communicate anything." Students will realize that not communicating anything is a virtually impossible task because other students will try to infer behavior or create situations to describe the silence.

An activity developed by Brooks and Emmert (16) that can be easily adapted to the second-language classroom allows students both to practice communication and to explore the effects and interactions of the nonverbal behavior of both speaker and listener. Students discuss in groups of two a movie or television show that they have seen recently. The only restriction is that students must have their backs to each other so that they cannot see the gestures or facial expressions of the other person. After completing their discussion, students examine in the target language how the removal of nonverbal support affected their ability to understand and be understood.

As Schulz and Bartz (97) indicate, relatively few instructional materials relating to second-language gestures are available to the teacher. They cite the work of Brault (15), Nostrand (81), and Tsoutsos (109), who have classified French gestures, as well as Niedzielski's *The Silent Language of France—French Culture Through French Gestures* (80). Green (39) and Kany (59) have categorized the gestures of various groups of Spanish-speaking people. More recently, Christensen and Wolfe (26), Jarvis et al. (57), and Schulz et al. (98) have developed readings on the nonverbal aspects of Spanish, French, and German cultures, respectively. Follow-up activities ask students to infer the meaning of the gestures of a native speaker as well as to examine the gestures used in English to communicate leave-taking, disapproval, surprise, etc.

It is hoped that these activities designed to help students solve problems of a linguistic, sociolinguistic, and nonverbal nature will contribute to an increased effectiveness in communication and a greater ability to solve problems encountered in communication situations. Greater efforts should be made to increase the profession's repertoire of similar activities in order to develop more efficient and more creative communication strategies for the second-language learner.

Creative and imaginative activities

A third dimension of creativity in the second-language classroom includes activities designed to encourage imaginative behavior on the part of the second-language learner. Included in this section are descriptions of activities designed for 1) verbal play, 2) creative writing, and 3) a brief discussion of the implications of a creative approach to reading.

Verbal play

Getzels and Jackson (36) have asked teachers to examine whether or not there is a place in the curriculum for *playing* with facts and ideas as well as *repeating* them. Activities designed by Debyser and Laitenberger (30) encourage students to play with language—its forms, its sounds, its imaginative and creative aspects—and to "take language out of its normal boundaries" (p. 14). Although teachers may choose to introduce these activities on a limited basis, their careful structure allows students with limited linguistic ability to compose original and out-of-the-ordinary sentences while still practicing grammatical structures and vocabulary.

The following example illustrates this approach. Students are asked to generate sentences using the following sentence-builder format:

1 The cupboard		1 sad
2 Paris	is	2 happy
3 The penguin		3 communistic
etc.		etc.

After students have formed sentences such as "The cupboard is sad," the teacher might ask them to explain *why* in a short sentence or paragraph form. The authors suggest variations of this format which will allow students to practice other sentence structures. For example, answers to questions such as "What does a cupboard eat?" provide practice with noun + verb + noun word order: "A cupboard eats memories, sheets, brooms, etc."

At a more advanced level, activities requiring a larger and more extensive vocabulary can be used. The following activity illustrates a category that Debyser and Laitenberger (30) entitle "*machines à inventer*" or "inventing machines." Students are first asked to imagine the question that might have elicted the following statement: "Here is the most rapid horse in the world. He runs so fast he needs a parachute in order to stop." Students are then shown the following sentence builder and are asked to create similar problems that can be presented to other students.

What can a ...	do with a ... ?
1 horse	1 parachute
2 professor	2 locomotive
3 child	3 pair of boots
4 crocodile	4 shoe polish
etc.	etc.

In addition to being asked to create their own questions, students can invent questions by drawing numbers: If number 43 were drawn, for example, the question would be "What can a crocodile do with a pair of boots?" When asked to answer the question, the student's imagination is brought into play.

Christensen (25) also believes that people "are intrigued by any distortion of the ordinary view of reality, especially when it is a humorous or absurd distortion" (p. 269). His "crazy sentence" model has been developed for use at the intermediate level where students have a more thorough knowledge of vocabulary and grammar and a greater facility in manipulating language forms and meanings. Groups of students combine conventional words in unconventional ways, e.g., "The elephant dances darkly in the polar school to remain in the infernal clouds of a rising sunset." He emphasizes the importance of follow-up questions that analyze the syntactic functions of the nouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives, phrases, and clauses in the sentences.

Although verbal play activities do indeed encourage lifting language out of its normal boundaries, teachers should carefully consider the particular students in a class before undertaking such an exercise. For some individuals playing with language could be an interesting and intellectual experience that allows them to create new parameters of thought and expression in the target language. But for those who do not have the necessary imagination and flexibility of thought, or who tend to envision language generally as an expression of reality, verbal-play activities could be frustrating and unrewarding.

Creative writing

Creative writing, like creativity itself, has many dimensions. Abbs (1) gives a general definition of the term: "The impetus of writing should lie beyond externals, in the heart and imagination of the child .... Creative writing is concerned with the expression of the whole person" (p. 51). Rivers (89) distinguishes between *practical writing* and *creative writing*. The former is used for everyday purposes such as social contacts, getting or giving information, or for studying, while creative writing is done to entertain others (e.g., skits, one-act plays, television programs) and to express oneself (stories, poems, nonsense rhymes, biographical or autobiographical sketches). Such a distinction is useful because it illustrates the range of activities that might be considered "creative writing." This section will focus on classroom activities that encourage students to use their imagination and "artistic" talents creatively.

Many students will lack the necessary imagination to complete these activities successfully, and teachers should again consider their students before assigning activities of this nature. Teachers might want to assign composition topics that give the students the option of writing about themselves, someone they know, or an imaginary person. Although open-ended creative-writing activities are more appropriate for intermediate levels of language instruction, students at an elementary level of language learning can engage in these activities when given a carefully structured framework.

An example of structured creativity for the writing of poems is "*cinquin* poetry," a simple format adapted for the second-language classroom by Allen (2). Its structured format allows students to be creative while still working within limited linguistic parameters. *Cinquin* poetry can be created individually, by small groups, or by a whole class. Each of the five lines of the poem follows the pattern given below: (Knorre et al., 64)

Line 1: State the subject in one word.
Line 2: Describe the subject in two words.
Line 3: Describe an action about the subject in three words.
Line 4: Express an emotion about the subject in four words.
Line 5: Restate the subject in another single word, reflecting what you have already said.

An example in English is provided:

Bride
Very beautiful
Dancing, playing, loving
I don't deserve you
Innocence

Christensen (25) suggests that students write minipoems based on the content of a picture or photograph of someone or something which is closely related to their lives (e.g., a family member, friend, pet animal, car) or which illustrates various aspects of the target culture (e.g., national types such as the Spanish bullfighter, national landmarks, cities). The format to be used is similar to that of cinquin poetry:

Line 1: one word—a noun that names the content of the picture
Line 2: two adjectives (single words) that describe the content of the picture
Line 3: three gerundive or progressive verb forms (single words each) that describe what the content may be doing or what it may be able to do
Line 4: a simple phrase or short sentence that will make a personal statement about the subject of the poem
Line 5: one word or a short phrase that in some manner produces a surprise or unexpected ending.

A less structured approach to encourage the writing of poems is suggested by Debyser and Laitenberger (30). Students are asked to free associate with a given noun:

Flower: plant, spring, youth, love, perfume, bloom, fade, etc.

The results of the free-association process then serve as a point of departure for individual or collective poetry writing.

According to Koch (65), collaborative creation of prose poems is a useful first introduction to poetry because it avoids a spirit of competition and reduces the anxiety of having to write a complete poem. Each student is asked to write a single line containing a color, a country, a comparison, or a sentence beginning with "I wish . . . " The collection of lines is then read as a prose poem. According to Koch, attention to rhyme and meter may stop the free flow of ideas, feelings, and associations for students who are creating their own poems for the first time. Koch refers to elementary-school children, yet his admonition is equally applicable to beginning language students. Although students at early levels of language learning have various degrees of sophistication in the reading, interpretation, and writing of poetry in English, their knowledge of the target language is generally too limited for successful poems with rhythmic and metric constraints.

Koch also has students integrate Spanish words into their original poems in English. This activity could be used early in language instruction to help students with a limited vocabulary in the target language gain a feeling of poetic expression.

Situational and open-ended completion activities (Christensen, 25) that focus on syntactic structures can also stimulate the student's imagination:

> Imagine that you're walking in a cemetery at night. You hear ghostlike voices. Your imagination runs wild. To whom do you think these voices belong?

I found myself in a world of fantasy and I thought that ...
I possess a magic wand and with it, I want to ...

Other creative-writing activities include the composition of short stories, skits, and plays. When students engage in these activities, teachers should carefully consider grading practices. According to Chastain (19), "No one learns to write without making errors. Students who have a genuine desire to learn to write in a second language are often discouraged from continuing their interest by the teacher's insistence upon unattainable standards" (p. 379). He encourages teachers to allow students who are completing creative-writing activities to concentrate on self-expression and over-all structure rather than on grammatical accuracy. Koch (65) believes that an encouraging rather than a corrective atmosphere enables students to write more creatively.

Creative reading

Creative reading reflects an additional facet of the reading process. This approach to reading is compatible with Smith's (99) view of reading as an active process in which the reader must make a contribution if he or she is to acquire the available information. Huus (52) contrasts *creative* reading with *critical* reading. Creative reading "is concerned with the production of new ideas, the development of new insights, fresh approaches, and original constructs"; critical reading, on the other hand, "requires evaluation of material, comparing it with known standards and norms, and concluding or acting upon judgment" (p. 84). Proponents of creative reading emphasize that, although comprehension can be determined by an understanding of the text itself, it can be enhanced by the reader's personal contributions and reactions to the text material. Creative reading is similar to a personalized approach to reading (Birckbichler and Muyskens, 10). It differs, however, in its focus on the development of students' imagination through textual materials.

Torrance (106) indicates that the creative reader should reflect upon what he is reading, discover new relationships between the text and his own life, react to new concepts, and develop an inquiring attitude. He suggests that this inquiring attitude can be encouraged by asking students to imagine the content and/or characters of a story using only the title. The activity not only develops a semantic set that will facilitate the comprehension of a text, but also heightens the student's anticipation of the material to be read. Other examples in this section follow the reading of a dialogue, short story, novel, poem, or play. Each activity presupposes an understanding of the material read if students are to fully exercise their imagination as well as their ability to modify, elaborate upon, and transform a reading selection.

Modifications can be made in a variety of ways. Allen and Valette (3) and Rivers (89) suggest that students retell a story from the point of view of another character, while Birckbichler and Muyskens (10) would ask students to imagine the story from the point of view of an outsider (e.g., a neighbor or journalist) or to imagine what a character might do or say in another situation (e.g., a cocktail party). They suggest that students might also decide what they would want to say to a character if they were to meet him or her. Students might dramatize an episode in a story or a dialogue or act out a hypothetical situation, such as setting up a blind date, convincing parents that a specific friend would make a good roommate, or preparing a job recommendation (Birckbichler and Knorre, 9). Stanislawczyk and Yavener (100) suggest that the setting of a reading passage be changed and the necessary modification be made to accommodate this change of location. They also ask students to keep a diary in the target language as they "attempt to react to life in the manner of a particular character" (p. 58) or to write letters to imaginary friends as if they were one of the characters.

Elaborations or extensions of readings in the target language can be varied. Boylan and Omaggio (14) ask students to change the facts and situation in a dialogue and create a new one, to extend a dialogue beyond the point at which the original ends, to act out the original or created dialogue, or to act out extemporaneously situations suggested by the original model. They also propose that simulations (e.g., a department store scene, eating in a restaurant) be enacted.

"Pastiche" activities (Rivers, 89, and Stanislawczyk and Yavener, 100), in which poems or narratives imitating the style of a particular author are written, provide students with a model to follow and enhance their "sensitivity to literary style" (Rivers, 89, p. 284). Lenard (72) and Schulz et al. (98) use poetry not only to illustrate cultural insights but also to inspire students in their own writing. Students are asked to create similar poems, to change the refrain or ending of a poem, or to create an original poem whose theme is analogous to the one just read. After reading a poem, students can write a short narrative about the events that led to or followed the poem (Stanislawczyk and Yavener, 100). This activity is equally suitable for dialogues, short stories, or plays.

Creative reading also encourages students to transform a reading selection into another medium. Lenard (72) and Stanislawczyk and Yavener (100) encourage students to compose poetry or lyrics which they can subsequently set to music, activities which could easily become class or group projects. A reading can also be transformed into sculpture, painting, or some other art form. (Wishard, 116).

These activities illustrate only a few of the many ways in which teachers can encourage a more creative approach to reading.

Encouraging creativity

A more divergent and creative approach to language learning implies greater student involvement with language and increased student production. The establishment of the classroom environment that encourages students to speak freely, to share their thoughts, to expand upon, to explain, and to elaborate their ideas is therefore important. Communication of this nature is facilitated by 1) reevaluating student/teacher roles, 2) providing activities that ensure student success, and 3) encouraging risk taking on the part of students.

Student/teacher roles

It is important that students and teachers assume roles that will contribute to an atmosphere where divergent production is likely to occur. As Boylan and Omaggio (14) state: "We would like to create a classroom environment where people have greater expectations for each other" (p. 4). They point out that in communication situations, an individual can be in the position of giving *or* getting information. Traditionally, teachers have been designated as "givers of significant information" whereas students have been relegated to the often passive role of "information getter." When students have been placed in the role of information givers, their basic "communication" task has been to transmit grammatical information (e.g., the right verb ending, the appropriate noun marker, the correct syntactic transformation). Boylan and Omaggio suggest that the role of student as "information giver" be transformed so that students communicate information that is real and important to them. If both students and teachers share the role of "information giver", an atmosphere of mutual sharing and communication can occur in the classroom. Leeman and Waverly (70), Savignon (95), and Stevick (103) urge that Curran's (29) counseling-learning view of teaching be considered as an alternative form of classroom interaction. As Savignon states, Curran's model basically implies that "what should go on between teacher and learner is the concept of community, a living dynamic where members relate with one another in a common learning task and no one member has any special power" (pp. 297–98). In community language learning, the teacher becomes essentially a resource person whose primary task is to facilitate communication among members of the group. The teacher/knower therefore becomes a teacher/counselor.

What is common to these two views of the teaching/learning process is the gradually changing role of both teacher and student. The student becomes an active participant in the communication process rather than a passive recipient of information or a rote manipulator of language forms. The teacher, on the other hand, becomes a facilitator of communication.

Structuring for success

The evolution of teacher roles does not mean that teachers should abdicate their responsibilities for providing a valid learning experience for their students. Nor does it imply that structure and guidance are no longer necessary. It suggests, rather, that teachers should maintain a delicate balance between allowing creativity to flourish and maintaining standards that will develop the language abilities of their students. Guilford (41) has emphasized the importance of acquiring basic building blocks in a given subject matter: "No creative person can get along without previous experience or facts; he never creates in a vacuum or with a vacuum" (p. 85). Similarly, the student cannot get along without the language forms necessary to communicate a message in a second language. Meeker (76) believes that an increasing emphasis on divergent thinking does not imply an abandonment of all standards but rather "lies in the direction of making divergence more productive and providing or soliciting more structure in the originality and flexibility we seek to nurture" (p. 21). The types of structured divergent activities described earlier in this chapter respond in part to this need, for those formats provide appropriate structure so that the student who needs or wants guidance has it readily available. Enough flexibility is present so that other students can explore and test their communicative ability wihin a relatively simple linguistic framework. Jarvis (54) believes that the limited nature of the student's linguistic knowledge is "a constraint that can be minimized by creativity in our instructional designs" (p. 223). Thus, by using imagination in designing activities, especially at early levels of language learning, we can maximize the creative potential of our students.

Small groups also facilitate communication and provide for a more secure learning environment (Baker, 6). Brainstorming, an integral part of most problem-solving courses or training-for-creativity programs, capitalizes on the contagion and enthusiasm of a group of people working together on a task. The more active participants can elaborate, allowing less active participants to chain off their ideas. Osborn's (83) principle of deferred judgment provides security to group members who are afraid to offer an idea and feel they should reserve judgment until a decision-making point is established. Although group brainstorming tasks have not yet been incorporated to any great extent in the foreign-language curriculum, this type of activity could provide a climate that would encourage greater production while reducing anxiety on the part of the student.

Encouraging risk taking

Ausubel (5), Stein (101), and Torrance (108) have synthesized research studies identifying personality traits of creative individuals. Among the characteristics identified are perceptiveness, independence in judgment, openness to new experience, sensitivity, enthusiasm, self-acceptance, self-awareness, and the willingness to take risks.

While all of these characteristics are important, risk taking is probably the single most important factor in the second-language classroom. If the student's role is such that he or she feels comfortable about expressing an idea and if activities are structured to ensure success, then the learner should be more willing to take risks. If, on the other hand, the student does not respond to, or is uncomfortable with the corrections of the teacher, it is highly probable that communication will be impaired. As Westphal (114) indicates: "Constant corrections, often in mid-sentence, or compositions covered with red ink will do little for a student's self-confidence" (p. 42). Zelson (117) concurs and believes that many correction strategies focus on what students do *wrong* rather than emphasizing what they do *right*. Stein (101) believes that teachers are generally too prone to evaluate their students. If the student's attention is constantly drawn to the fact of evaluation he or she is likely to concentrate on the potential for error too early in the learning process and consequently will be inhibited in expression. Stein hypothesizes that students should be able to practice, to experiment, to test various approaches, without the fear of error and criticism.

The complex nature of communication tasks necessitates a reevaluation of correction strategies. When students were asked to complete mechanical exercises that focused on the production of one right answer, evaluation was relatively simple. When a student is trying to transmit a message requiring a complicated series of decisions on his/her part (e.g., linguistic, semantic, sociolinguistic, interpersonal appropriateness), the locus of evaluation is considerably less evident. It may well be that students should not be corrected during communication practice or that teachers should reserve their corrections for manipulative grammar practice. Perhaps only those errors that interfere with communication should be pointed out to the student. Until research identifies those areas that impede comprehension or that are offensive to native speakers of a given language, teachers will have to base their evaluations on common sense, intuition, and knowledge of their individual students. It is possible, as Stein (101) indicates, that research may reveal that student reaction to evaluation procedures depends on the personality, age, self-concept, and the type of task involved.

Torrance (108) has stated:

> Man has a deep need to establish anchors, to maintain contact with his environment. He must continually try things out. He must determine the limits of his abilities, the materials with which he works and the situation. In creative activities, he must test the medium whatever it is to discover its limits, its possibilities (p. 77).

It is hoped that we can establish such an environment for our students, an environment that encourages students to test their limits in a second language.

Directions for future research

Research was conducted by Landry (67, 68, and 69) to measure the development of the creative abilities of elementary school children enrolled in FLES programs and research on the relationship between creativity and bilingualism was carried out by Carringer, (18).

While studies of this kind are of great importance in measuring the outcomes of second-language learning, research examining the relationship between communicative competence and divergent production abilities could also provide valuable information about the teaching/learning process. As was previously indicated, Bartz (7) reported relationships between fluency, flexibility, and originality and measures of oral and written communication skill, but because he investigated only the correlations between individually possessed abilities and communication measures, further research must explore the effects of *training* and *practice* in divergent production tasks on the development of communicative ability.

Experimentation is also needed to determine the types of foreign language tasks that encourage and facilitate the production of student-generated sentences. The results of a study conducted by Birckbichler (8) seem to suggest a relationship between personal involvement with learning activities and the production of original sentences. Additionally, personality traits and intellectual abilities that influence the divergent production category should be examined in the second-language learning situation. Are there differences between the student's ability to perform divergent tasks in his or her native language and a second language? What teacher behaviors facilitate divergent production?

Comparisons between the effects of divergent and convergent tasks could also provide useful information about student learning. Does the limited production required by convergent production lead to greater ease in initial learning of vocabulary and grammar? Or does the student learn as effectively by participating in the more complex decision-making processes required in divergent tasks?

These are only a few of the possible avenues of inquiry suggested by the dimensions of creativity presented in this chapter. In the relatively unexplored domain of creativity in the second-language learning situation, many other research questions are yet to be discovered. Such information will be invaluable in a theory of second-language learning which, up to this time, has not fully investigated the relationship between creativity and the second-language learning situation.

Summary

The vital connection between creativity and communication adds a new dimension to the second-language classroom, enhancing our already rich materials and techniques designed to further the development of communicative proficiency. Activities involving the creative process expand the student's awareness of communication beyond simple conversational exchanges. They emphasize a multiplicity of responses that make the student more aware of the power of what seemed to be a limited linguistic repertoire. Students are urged to solve problems, take risks, and produce something artistic in the second language. A "creative" perspective encourages students to elaborate, to paraphrase, to respond verbally and nonverbally, to be aware of appropriate social levels of language, and to increase their understanding of what it means to "communicate." These are skills that contribute to the development of a student's potential to become a fully functioning communicator in both native and second-language situations. They not only facilitate the communication process, but also provide students with life skills that go beyond communication and beyond the classroom walls.

1 Various dimensions of the creative process are: a) artistic creativity, b) creativity in the psychological laboratory, c) creativity in an educational context, and d) linguistic creativity.

2 These aspects of the creative process suggest three dimensions of creativity in the second-language classroom: a) divergent production tasks that focus on the generation of multiple rather than single answers and that encourage flexibility, fluency, and elaboration of ideas; b) a problem-solving approach to resolving linguistic, sociolinguistic, and nonverbal difficulties encountered in communication exchanges; c) imaginative and creative activities that encourage students to engage in verbal play, creative writing, and creative reading.

3 Teachers encourage creativity and divergent production on the part of their students by providing a classroom atmosphere that encourages risk taking, by structuring activities for student success, and by expanding existing student/teacher roles.

4 Directions for future research include: an examination of the effects of training and practice utilizing divergent production tasks, and studies of personality and intellectual factors that influence divergent production.

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New curricular connections

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Introduction

As foreign language educators move toward the 1980s, they are becoming increasingly aware of the need to take their academic discipline out of the immediate classroom into the larger school, local, and world communities. Traditionally, language instruction has been confined to a narrow space within four walls where instruction *and the language* stopped as soon as the students (and often the instructor) stepped outside the door. In many instances the threshold of the classroom door has been as great a barrier to communication as are the vast oceans which separate continents.

Different methods of teaching have been tried with varying degrees of success, and the length of the class period has been increased and decreased, yet the room itself has remained relatively intact. To be sure, language learning in other than a traditional setting has been taking place for a long time. Americans were traveling to Europe to learn another language before there was a United States, and language camps in this country existed as early as 1924 (Bouniol, 13). But the explosion of language learning in a nontraditional setting has occurred only in the latter half of this century. From the stance of viewing language study as a path to literary appreciation, foreign language educators have progressed to a point where communication is viewed as the purpose of their discipline. Communication includes an appreciation for literature, but it also encompasses a knowledge of and interaction with the history, culture, speech habits, and lifestyles of people

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from different backgrounds. Achieving the goal of communication involves learning in many ways and in many settings.

There are a number of reasons for teaching in a new setting, but none of them is persuasive enough to suggest that language instruction *in toto* should be ushered out of the classroom. Rather, teaching in a nontraditional setting can enhance established programs, for it adds the extra dimension needed to maintain student interest and to promote the learning we all seek.

What are some of the reasons for taking foreign language instruction beyond the classroom walls? One is, that as an interdisciplinary subject, language study lends itself to unique learning situations. Teachers of other disciplines such as art, history, geography, music, and even physical education should welcome the resource which the foreign language teacher can provide, and students enrolled in other subjects should find those experiences enriched by the inclusion of language study. By the same token, foreign language teachers can enhance their own programs by drawing on the expertise available from colleagues in other disciplines.

Another reason for taking learning out of the classroom is that language *is* communication, and students need the opportunity to communicate with people other than those in their immediate learning groups. Proof that the students have learned (or are learning) in the language classroom lies in their ability to use their new skill in varied situations. Providing a new environment allows the learner to expand his or her sphere of communication into the larger community. As this process takes place, the new language becomes integrated into the student's total learning experience. It becomes for the student not a foreign language but another means of communication.

Teaching in a nontraditional setting can heighten student interest in the language. A journalism teacher provides motivation by arranging a field trip to the office of a local newspaper or by having students work on the staff of a school publication. In the same fashion we can increase interest in our subject by allowing students to stage a skit during a language festival or by helping them to find the means to attend a language camp or to travel abroad.

Courses in the curriculum which enjoy support by the community and the school or college administration are likely to be retained and to flourish. Such support is often generated when the course is taken out of the immediate classroom. The physical education teacher arouses community interest by fielding teams in athletic competitions, and music faculty members find their programs better supported when their students perform for the community. Foreign language teachers can use similar techniques for gaining visibility for their courses. It is unthinkable that a school or college administrator would refuse a trophy, whether won by a championship wrestling team or by students who presented a winning foreign language play. Just as members of the community enjoy attending sports events and concerts, they also like to view slides and to hear of a student's experiences in another country.

In this chapter we shall look at some of the possibilities for taking language learning and instruction into the larger classroom—the school, the community, and the world. Examples of nontraditional settings are cited, and an attempt is made to determine how these new curricular connections promote language learning. Suggestions are offered as to how foreign language teachers might integrate "extra" classroom instruction into their own programs. Let us proceed from the geographically immediate setting (within the school) to that which is remote (outside the country). Programs conducted within the school or on the college campus but outside of the usual classroom include intensive language courses and interdisciplinary courses. A step farther from the traditional classroom are language camps, language festivals, and ethnic festivals; still farther removed are the various types of programs abroad.

Intensive courses

The concept of teaching foreign language intensively, that is, devoting a large portion of the total instructional time to language study, has long been an accepted pedagogical method. François Gouin, the nineteenth-century originator of the Series Method of foreign language instruction, suggested that five hours each day for a period of six months be devoted to language learning (Kelly, 64).

In this century intensive language instruction gained impetus in the United States during World War II, when it was imperative to produce persons fluent in another tongue in a relatively short time. The American Council of Learned Societies established intensive programs in 1941 to teach uncommonly taught languages, and the Army Specialized Training Program (ASTP) was begun in 1943 to prepare linguists for the needs of the American military (Thompson, 109). In a program widely known as the Army Method, the ASTP saturated students with the target language for a period of six to twelve months, concentrating on the skills of speaking and understanding (Schmidt, 101). The early ASTP courses were generally successful and served to make the American public conscious of the need for language instruction in this country. Early articles by Axelrod (4, 5) indicate that part of the program's success was due to the careful selection of highly motivated students and the close monitoring of a stringently planned course. Small classes were featured, with four to five students per instructor, and teachers were changed frequently. During the course of the program, each student studied with approximately twenty different instructors, most of them first- or second-generation speakers of the target language.

By the end of the war, intensive language instruction was established as an effective method of teaching foreign languages. After the war, the same principles of saturation were used to teach immigrants and displaced persons the language of their new country (Kelly, 64), and American educators sought to incorporate at least parts of the Army Method into formal classroom instruction. Axelrod (4) urged college modern language departments to follow the Army Method by incorporating centralized examinations into tightly planned programs which featured frequent alternation of instructors. Zech (117) drew attention to the urgent need for an aural-oral methodology and advocated its use during the regular school year.

Hoenigswald et al. (53) reported in 1962 on twenty-two American college- and university-sponsored intensive courses in uncommonly taught languages. This report defines an intensive course as one which covers the work of an academic year during a summer session. Although the definition of the concept is somewhat constraining, the Hoenigswald report provides useful guidelines for establishing an intensive language course. These include the screening of applicants and a student-teacher ratio of eight to one.

Careful selection of the students is often a characteristic of an intensive language course. A program instituted at the University of Wisconsin in 1965 was limited to fifteen graduate students, specializing in Latin American Area Studies, who were recommended by faculty members (Sacks, 97). An intensive Latin course, designed to teach students to read advanced texts by the end of a ten-week summer session, was restricted to graduate students and honors undergraduates (Moreland, 83). An intensive Spanish course at the New York State University College at Buffalo was offered to twenty-four participants selected from fifty applicants (Richards and Salas, 94). However, successful intensive courses are also conducted without screening applicants, an example being the intensive German program at the University of Texas at Arlington where there are no entrance requirements (Frank, 39).

Summer study

While intensive courses are often conducted during the summer months, programs also take place during the regular school year or during an intersession. A rather typical summer program is the one begun at Oklahoma State University in 1969 (Deveny and Bookout, 32). In this program, classes are kept small (approximately nine students per instructor), and each day's activities are carefully planned. The program runs for eight weeks with instruction each weekday from 7:30 A.M. until 3:30 P.M. Various periods of the day are devoted to classroom instruction, laboratory instruction, and conversation with native speakers. The students are evaluated frequently (at least once daily), and two final examinations are administered, one after each four-week session. Students can earn ten credit hours, the equivalent of two semesters, during the eight-week period.

A highly successful program at Washington State University condenses the equivalent of four college semesters of language instruction into an eight-week summer program where students attend class eight hours a day, five days per week (Benseler and Mazur, 8). In addition to daily segments devoted to language instruction, laboratory work, and conversation, the Washington State program schedules specific times for singing and slide and television presentations. As in the Army Specialized Training Program, instructors are changed frequently (at least once an hour), and the conversation groups are kept quite small, five students per instructor.

Intensive summer programs are sometimes combined with travel abroad to reinforce and deepen the knowledge gained in the course. Students at Earlham College, for example, combine a ten-week intensive Spanish course with a ten-week stay in Mexico where formal and informal language instruction is continued (Lamson, 70). Intensive courses may also be conducted during an intersession if that period is long enough—it should probably run at least three weeks—and if goals are modified to fit the shorter time span. Wallace (113) contends that the work of an entire academic year can be accomplished during a three-week winter session, but one semester's work seems to be a more reasonable expectation for such a short period.

Intensive study during the academic year

An interesting method of breaking the language class out of its traditional mold is the intensive language course conducted during the regular school year. Students devoting full time to language study at the University of Texas at Arlington may register for four semesters of a foreign language during the course of a single semester (Frank, 38, 39, 40). The program, begun in German, has proved so successful that it has been extended to all languages in the department, and plans have been laid for intensive courses at the third-year level. An upper-division intensive course is already being offered at the University of Southern California (Hirschmann, 52), where students who have completed basic language courses may enroll in a sixteen-unit course which is the equivalent of four or five traditional courses. Content encompasses the broad areas of language, literature, art and music, science, philosophy and psychology, and social sciences.

Often an attempt is made to create a cultural as well as a linguistic island in the setting of the intensive course. Specific rooms on campus might be set aside for posters and other realia as well as interesting reading material such as magazines, jokebooks, and newspapers. On some campuses the course requires a live-in arrangement with a dormitory or fraternity house reserved for the program. At the University of Colorado, language students live in a specially designated dormitory during the regular semester where they have frequent access to a teaching associate fluent in the language. An intensive language refresher course is conducted at the beginning of each semester (Leonard and Kuhn-Osius, 72). An elaborate live-in situation is available at the Oldenborg Center at Pomona College. Here students live in a section of the Center assigned to the language of their interest and have access not only to native speakers of the various languages but also to a wide range of linguistic and cultural programs (Baumann, 6).

Two frequently cited benefits of intensive language courses are the rapidity with which students gain fluency and their increased interest in subsequent offerings. Moreland (83) reports that most of the students who completed his intensive Latin class in the summer enrolled in upper-division Latin courses in the fall. Benseler (7) cites a dramatic increase in German enrollment at Washington State University as a result of the intensive program in the summer. Over 75 percent of the students from the intensive course usually enroll in upper-level courses in the fall.

Although not a new development, intensive language courses have gained popularity in recent years as an effective way of teaching foreign languages and of increasing student interest in further study. One must be cautioned, however, that the success of an intensive course is directly related to the amount of forethought which goes into such a venture. The most successful programs are those which are carefully planned and tightly structured.

Interdisciplinary courses

Combining language learning with the study of other subjects has long been recognized as an efficient means of simultaneously developing skills in two subjects. This is a shared goal of programs for study abroad, which will be discussed later in this chapter. The present focus is on language learning in conjunction with other disciplines without the study-abroad component.

Until the mid-seventeenth century, the entire curriculum was taught in Latin, and some universities required that theses be written in Latin as recently as the early part of the twentieth century (Kelly, 64). Until modern times, American education has tended to be interdisciplinary at the early levels and increasingly specialized at the upper levels. The elementary-school teacher was responsible for all instruction in a given grade and indeed for all grades in a rural school. Not until high school did students find teachers responsible for specific disciplines, such as biology or history; at the college level, specialization was even more pronounced: one professor might teach only botany, another would offer courses only in European history. To some extent this trend has been reversed at all levels of instruction. Specialists in music, art, and other disciplines are becoming more common at the elementary level, while interdisciplinary courses are being offered in the upper grades and at the college and postgraduate level. A recent publication, *German Studies in the United States: Assessment and Outlook* (Lohnes and Nollendorfs, 75), addresses interdisciplinary studies at all levels of instruction as they relate to German. A reason for the trend toward interdisciplinary studies, Kelly (65) asserts, is the growing consensus that existing disciplines "should be taught in the context of their dynamic interrelationships and societal problems" (p. 132).

Interdisciplinary studies are not novel for teachers of foreign languages, for we have been teaching language as an interdisciplinary subject all along. Free of specific content, our academic discipline allows us to explore in many areas—as long as we employ our linguistic and cultural training in the process. Because language study involves communication skills, it can be combined with study in any other field; it is thus a logical part of an interdisciplinary program.

In a survey of nontraditional foreign language courses and programs conducted by the Modern Language Association in 1974–75, a wide range of specialized interdisciplinary courses were identified (Buck, 19), eight of which are described in a recent article (31). Some of these courses involve cooperation between foreign language faculty and their colleagues in art, history, chemistry, physics, and in several other departments. Complete results of the survey are to be published under the tentative title *Options for the Teaching of Foreign Languages, Literatures and Cultures* (Brod, 17). At the time of this writing, Schulz (102) is conducting a survey of successful undergraduate foreign language programs in United States colleges. Undoubtedly, a number of foreign-language-based interdisciplinary programs will be identified there.

Interdisciplinary programs can be divided into two general groups. The first includes specialized programs where subjects such as geography or physics are taught in a foreign language or where language skills specifically applicable to another discipline are taught. The second group is more generalized; foreign language study is integrated into area studies or international studies programs. In the latter group, foreign language vocabulary is of a general nature; in the former it may be very specialized.

Specialized language skills

Specialized interdisciplinary courses involving foreign languages are being conducted with success at the elementary, secondary, and post-secondary level. Berwald (9) reports that prospective foreign language teachers at the secondary level, studying at the University of Massachusetts, have been taught to apply their linguistic skills to another discipline. For example, social studies teaching units are presented in the foreign language methods course. Kathriner (60) has developed techniques for teaching science, mathematics, and art in German. In the unit *Was ist ein frisches Ei?* students determine the freshness of eggs by means of a scientific experiment. In the mathematics unit *Abbildungen von Zimmern*, Kathriner's students measure and draw a scale model of the classroom and of rooms in their homes, while primary, secondary, and complementary colors are taught with the unit *Das Farbenrad*. Cantrell (21) has developed units for teaching environmental education in the French class. Topics covered include endangered animal species, energy-efficient transportation, natural resources, environmental sports, and population growth. At the West Islip, New York, Public Schools, foreign language study is combined with the study of history, civilization, and art (Loew, 74). Burrelli (20) describes this program and indicates the advantages (increased enrollment) and disadvantages (colleague animosity) of such an interdisciplinary venture.

At the post-secondary level, the German department at the University of Wisconsin-Madison has cooperated with the zoology department to offer a series of lectures in German on various areas of biology (Brancaforte, Thomas, and Yoshinaga, 15). These lectures are conducted by members of various university departments who are fluent in German, and students and townspeople may attend for university credit or for personal enrichment. The audience has ranged in number from 180 to 58, of whom 40 enrolled for credit, and has included native speakers of German, students concurrently enrolled in a second-semester German course, and persons with linguistic ability between those extremes. Because of the success of the German zoology course, a geology course taught in German has been added to the University of Wisconsin curriculum (Thomas, 108), and students may enroll for either geology or German credit. Readings are in German with English vocabulary lists provided. Future courses to be taught in German are planned in several areas such as anthropology and health-care studies.

The advantages of using a foreign language as the medium of instruction to teach another discipline are obvious. Students gain vocabulary not usually found in their language textbooks, they gain skill in two or more subject areas at the same time, and they become acutely aware of the fact that the foreign language is indeed used for communication. Yet, our specialized training in teaching skills is likely to make it difficult for us to teach a content subject in any language! This problem can be overcome by enlisting the aid of foreign language speakers teaching in other disciplines or perhaps by a summer or two of intensive study.

A number of institutions, including the University of South Carolina (Fryer, 43), the University of Cincinnati (Gaeng, 46; Slessarev, 104), the University of Dallas (Merklein, 80), and the American Graduate School of International Management (Roessler, 95) incorporate language study into programs leading to undergraduate and graduate degrees in international business. These programs were discussed in a previous volume of the *Foreign Language Education Series* (Kelly, 65). Specific courses which relate foreign language study to another area and are career-oriented have been introduced at some institutions. Lacey (68) reports that advanced legal and business French and Spanish courses are part of the Transnational Legal Studies Curriculum at the Vanderbilt University School of Law in Nashville, Tennessee. Students receive training in reading and understanding foreign language vocabulary and learn concepts peculiar to law and business. Business vocabulary is included in advanced Russian composition and stylistic courses at Douglass College, and students learn to use a Russian typewriter (Kowalski, 67). The University of Delaware is one of several institutions which offer foreign language classes specifically designed for music majors (Bohning, 12; Davidheiser, 28); at Delaware the course includes field trips to the Metropolitan Opera in New York. At Brown University a joint concentration in German and chemistry has been devised which leads to an internship in a German company's American plant (Conant, 23). Career-oriented foreign language courses such as those cited are often implemented at the suggestion of colleagues in other disciplines. Language teachers should not only be receptive to such ideas but should solicit them by polling students, colleagues, and members of the community.

The broader view

Broad interdisciplinary and area-studies programs continue to play an important role in total curricula, and foreign language study should be an integral part of them. Unfortunately, this is too often not the case. A major survey of American college and university programs of Latin American, East European, Middle Eastern, African, and Asian studies was conducted by the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Although about 90 percent of the specialists, students, and program graduates indicated the need for foreign-language use as part of the area-studies program, Lambert (69) reports that "fewer than 10% of the courses coded in Southeast Asia, South Asia, and Africa require any language use at all, and even with respect to Latin American studies where language skills are more common among students, in only one-third of the courses will the student knowing only English find himself in any difficulty" (p. 243). A report prepared in 1975 by the International Education Project of the American Council on Education (34) reached similar conclusions concerning the use of foreign languages by international specialists. They report that "less than one-third of this national cadre of 'experts' were functionally fluent in any foreign language, while 20% possessed no language skills whatsoever" (p. 9). Blank (11), in a study sponsored by the Council for European Studies in 1975, notes a decline in language facility among students doing work in Western European studies: "Just when, at the research level, we emphasize the commonality of problems which face the advanced nations of North America and Western Europe, Europe, in terms of its languages, culture, and history is becoming an exotic area of the world for our students" (p. 9). He notes that "we are beginning to find that fewer and fewer of the students who wish to do research for their dissertations in Western Europe have acquired competence in European languages" (p. 122). Foreign language faculty members hoping to make their presence felt in broad interdisciplinary and area-studies programs would do well to arm themselves with the statistics and other information found in the three reports cited above.

Several institutions have begun offering interdisciplinary courses in which one of the goals is to encourage students to consider intensive foreign-language study in subsequent classes. Often these courses are microcosms of broader interdisciplinary programs. At Murray State University, a team-taught course entitled A Cultural Introduction to Foreign Languages (Keller and Ferguson, 63) deals with the effects of geography on languages, the origin and evolution of language and culture, and the structure of languages with sample dialogues in French, German, Russian, and Spanish. The course Perspectives on Modern Germany, at Southern Methodist University, is taught by faculty members from the departments of foreign languages, history, theology, philosophy, art history, film arts, and music (Mollenhauer, 82). In a course entitled Impact of the World War on the European Imagination, Dawson (29) uses tape recordings of German speeches and songs of World War II as well as translations of war novels and plays. At Meramec Community College in St. Louis, the foreign language faculty participates in several interdisciplinary courses, including Film and People: Enjoying Foreign Films, and Cultural Patterns in Spanish Art (DeGrand, 30).

Two of the many broad interdisciplinary programs involving foreign language specialists are the ones at Suomi College, Hancock, Michigan, and at the University of Nebraska at Omaha. At Suomi College, a Finnish studies program includes instruction in the Finnish language, literature, and culture; Finnish selections are featured in music courses, Finnish plays are produced in theater courses, and Finnish culture is displayed in a wide range of courses such as crafts, folk dance, and winter sports (Puotinen, 90). At the University of Nebraska at Omaha, language specialists have worked closely in the International Studies Program since its inception in 1975 (Jung, 58). Students choosing an International Studies major or minor must enroll in two team-taught interdisciplinary courses which include participation of the foreign language faculty. In addition, students must possess language proficiency at least equivalent to that gained in a two-year college sequence, and enroll in classes related to international studies offered through a number of departments, even though none are taught in a foreign language.

Interdisciplinary courses provide students with a way of expanding their studies of foreign languages and culture and with opportunities for applying their language skills to new situations. They offer teachers of foreign languages a chance to make curricular connections with other disciplines and to share interesting means of presenting foreign language material.

Language camps

Despite the melting-pot theory which holds that immigrants eventually assimilate the American language and culture, speech islands exist in every part of the country. *Speech island* is the linguistic term for a district such as Chinatown, a Puerto Rican neighborhood, or a French-speaking community where the language is different from that in the surrounding country. Overseas, American servicemen and women create speech islands when they make their military posts into "little Americas." Speech islands in this country were formed when Japanese- and German-speaking people were placed in prisoner-of-war camps and detention camps during the 1940s. More recently, the same phenomenon occurred when Southeast Asians were brought to this country after the Vietnam War and were housed in camps before being resettled.

Unlike the examples cited above, language camps are speech islands designed to hasten acculturation, and are organized for the purpose of instilling knowledge of a foreign culture and language in eager students. By creating a miniature foreign environment, if only for a few short days, we have an opportunity to transcend the barriers of our classrooms and to provide students with a learning environment which is interesting, challenging, and enjoyable.

Summer camp has become an important part of growing up in America, and the combination of a camping experience with some other activity is also part of American life. Camping has combined with activities as diverse as music instruction, religious training, square dancing, and losing excess weight. Attaching language learning to a camping experience is a logical combination because students can thus acquire a unique opportunity to live another culture.

Perhaps the earliest language camps in this country were the two French summer camps for girls, Ecole Champlain in Ferrisburg, Vermont, founded in 1924, and Les Chalets Français in Deer Isle, Maine, founded in 1937 (Bouniol, 13). Concordia College in Moorhead, Minnesota, pioneered the idea of language camps sponsored by nonprofit educational institutions. The first of the Concordia Villages was the German camp conducted for seventy-two campers at a rented campsite in the summer of 1961 (Bjerkness, 10). A French camp was added the following year, and facilities now accommodate five languages at permanent sites in northern Minnesota. High school credit is available in French, German, Norwegian, Russian, and Spanish to campers who have received at least 120 hours of intensive instruction (24). With an enrollment in 1975 of 1,722, the Concordia Villages are now in operation throughout the year. Not only have the Concordia Language Villages attracted people from all parts of the country, but the Minnesota camps have served as the model for more recently established language camps in other states (Conner and Ludwig, 26).

A weekend away

Language camps today take many forms, ranging from day camps to mini-camps to live-in camps. But each has as its purpose the furtherance of knowledge about foreign peoples, their languages, and their customs. Weekend or minicamps are especially appealing to many teachers because they can be organized more readily than longer sessions and can be conducted during the school year to attract a larger group of students. These camps heighten student interest in language learning, give them an opportunity to use the language in an enjoyable way, and provide an incentive for enrollment in a language class. If students know that the chance to attend a weekend camp is contingent upon their participation in a language class, they are often motivated to select the course for that purpose.

Weekend language camps in Colorado were begun by the Jefferson County School District, and schools in that state and others (Ervin, 35; Preller, 89) have imitated their success. The Jefferson County camps feature signs in the target language, crafts, games, songs, and dances. Students are immersed in another culture and find themselves thinking and speaking in another language. Weekend camps do not need to have the support of a large school district in order to be successful; they can be organized by smaller schools or even by a resourceful teacher. Conklin and Murphy (25) describe several short-term immersion experiments, including a weekend camp sponsored by North Rose-Wolcott High School, New York, which serves a community of fewer than 2,500. The programs range in time from a period of hours to several days, and include language afternoons, overnight visits by language students from nearby schools, and a language weekend at a campsite in the vicinity. During each of the activities, students, aided by persons fluent in the language, speak in the target language and participate in planned exercises. These experiences, by increasing student enthusiasm for language study, have resulted in higher enrollments and the development of a feeling of unity among participants. Mullen (84) arranges weekend language camps for her junior high school students and invites members of other classes in the district to attend as space allows. She is able to keep the cost of the camp low by having students raise funds with inexpensive activities such as emblazoning T-shirts with German eagles.

Weekend camps in New Mexico bring together high school and university students and teachers and have strengthened language programs at both levels (Pabisch and Peters, 87). The German weekend in New Mexico was begun in 1972 and increased in size by about 220 percent in four years, attracting some 450 participants in 1976. The weekend runs from Friday dinner through Sunday lunch. A general meeting Friday evening is followed by informal talks by teachers and exchange students, group singing, and a German feature film. Different school groups perform skits on Saturday; students and teachers participate in seminars on literature, politics, art, and music; they learn German folk songs and folk dances and view short films and slide shows. Time devoted to professional discussions of mutual concerns and ideas has helped to cement an enthusiastic working relationship among German teachers at all levels in the state.

Peterson (88) has been able to introduce foreign language study into the elementary schools in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, as a result of a day camp for elementary-age children with no previous foreign language knowledge. The camp runs for two weeks, and because participants are not expected to stay overnight, the cost is less and families are able to fit the program into their summer schedules. Days are divided into instructional periods, indoor games and songs, and outdoor games. German has been incorporated into the elementary school curriculum by means of closed-circuit television programs, which were developed as part of the day camp experience. Over 500 sixth graders enrolled in the television course the first year.

A teacher-training component for which university credit is awarded is included in a language camp sponsored by the Texas chapter of the American Association of Teachers of German (Harvey, 50). German teachers meet at the campsite the week before campers arrive to develop teaching materials and to immerse themselves in the language (McCord and Manning, 79). Teachers in the workshop then remain at the site to work with the camping staff during the two-week experience for junior- and senior-high school students.

Planning: The key to success

Accepting the premise that language camps effectively expand teaching beyond the traditional classroom, how do local teachers get their students involved in a camp situation? One way is to provide the impetus for students to attend a camp which is already established. By staging fund-raising events, language classes may help defray the expense of going to a camp. Alternatively, teachers with enthusiasm, imagination, and dedication can create their own camps. Ervin (35) considers enthusiasm and organization as the primary ingredients for making a language camp successful.

Two early decisions which must be made by camp organizers concern site selection and staff recruitment. Numerous campsites are likely to be available if the organizers begin their search early before camp calendars are filled. Many organizations such as the YMCA and churches are able to rent their sites to other users. Ervin (35) emphasizes that the staff needs to be flexible enough to adapt to the novel situation which a language camp provides. Counselors should be enthusiastic and multitalented so that they can assume a variety of roles at the camp. Each counselor must, of course, be fluent in the target language; in addition, each must be able to cope with new situations and should possess a good deal of energy.

The number of counselors at the camp should have a direct bearing on the number of campers permitted to attend. A suitable ratio seems to be about five to ten campers per counselor (Conner and Ludwig, 26). Having advanced students serve as junior counselors, or attaching a teacher workshop to the camp, as is done in Texas, can improve this ratio. Ervin (35) suggests that no camper be allowed to attend whose language teacher is not part of the staff so that each student is personally known by one of the counselors; however, lack of prior acquaintance with the campers did not pose a problem in the Nebraska program. It is important, though, that one person accept the responsibility for directing the camp and that he or she be the focal point of the camp's organization (Ervin, 35).

Adequate financing must be considered in the early planning stages. Jung (59) suggests that the state foreign language consultant might be helpful in finding financial assistance. Sponsors of the first Nebraska language camp were able to secure a Title III Mini-Grant with the help of the state language consultant. Funds for the New Mexico camp were raised through donations, bake sales, car washes, and the like. Foreign consulates and local merchants may be willing to donate supplies, or one of the state foreign language organizations might agree to cover unforeseen expenses (Ervin, 35).

Living the language

The keystone of a successful language camp is careful planning. A well-planned camp can be a delightful experience for campers and counselors; a poorly planned one can be disastrous. A camp setting provides a unique opportunity for creating a microcosm of the foreign culture, but items such as road signs, banners, and foreign menus, which add authenticity to the experience, need to be prepared before the session begins. Decisions must be made concerning the types of activities which are feasible. Camp facilities, the language involved, and the age of the campers will play a part in these decisions.

A feature common to most language camps is a customs check. Not only does this make the cultural experience more real, but it provides counselors an opportunity to confiscate unsuitable items such as radios and cigarettes. A camp bank provides campers with the useful experience of making deposits and withdrawals while lessening the possibility that they will misplace large sums of cash. Allowing campers to choose authentic-sounding names for the duration of the camp makes their cultural transformation more complete. If each person wears a tag with the new name on it, campers become acquainted with one another more quickly and retain a personal souvenir of the camp.

Many events such as cabin inspection, flag raising, and campfires are typical of all camps and are therefore expected by participants in the language setting. These expectations can be capitalized on by adapting the normal camp activities to the target culture and language. A camp newspaper provides at once a learning experience for the students and a publicity medium for the following year's session; if campers find the paper interesting enough they will take it back to their regular classmates.

Long before the camp takes place, decisions must be made about the curriculum and other activities, but all planning must be done with an eye toward flexibility. A general schedule which divides the camp day into instructional periods, game periods, group activities, and mealtimes should be drawn up to give the camp a sense of order; last-minute changes in the schedule can be announced each day during the noon meal when all campers are in one place.

Counselors should be familiar with the campsite and its facilities before the campers arrive. This can be accomplished by having one or more of the planning sessions at the site, or by having counselors arrive a day or two in advance. General knowledge of available facilities early in the planning stage is advisable; for example, if duplicating equipment is not available at the camp, it may have to be borrowed from a participating school.

Publicity is important to planning a language camp whether it is to be of short or long duration; eligible candidates for the camp must have early notice so that they can adjust their schedules. The state foreign language consultant can often provide names and addresses of teachers whose students might be eligible, and they may be able to mail notices to these teachers. The coordinators of the Ohio camp assisted each participating school by providing news releases and distributing buttons which publicized the camp (Ervin, 35). Good publicity not only attracts participants to the camp and becomes a part of their learning experience, but also heightens community awareness of the relevancy of foreign language study. Registration forms can be printed in two languages; the receipt for payment can take the form of a passport which contains personal information, information about the camp, and a space for a record of deposits and withdrawals in the camp bank.

The first day of camp sets the tone for the entire experience. Registration at the camp should be organized, friendly, and efficient. Those arriving early need to be kept busy while others are registering, and first-day activities need to be vigorous and lively so that campers will be tired at bedtime.

Realistic limitations

One should recognize what can be expected of students at a language camp and what the limitations of such an experience are. In other words, one should set reasonable learning goals. Teaching units are usually developed or adapted by each staff member, for commercially produced instructional material specifically designed for this use is not generally available. Speaking and understanding skills can be improved at a language camp, especially if a conscious effort is made to communicate in the target language as much as possible; but it is not reasonable to expect much improvement in reading and writing skills in such a short period of time. Singing should play a large role, for it provides an enjoyable way of increasing vocabulary and improving pronunciation. The language camp is an excellent setting for heightening campers' cultural awareness and for reinforcing their positive attitude toward language learning, for the experience provides them immediate motivation to communicate in another tongue and to become aware of other customs. The more intricate points of linguistic structure and composition are best left for the more formal classroom, especially if the camp lasts only a short time.

Festivals

Language fairs or festivals are often thought of in relation to the community support for foreign language study which they generate and in terms of the motivation which they provide students. Reeves (91), for example, cites the public-awareness function of language festivals, and certainly this purpose is a valid one. But festivals are also another means of extending language learning beyond the classroom walls.

A good composite picture of the variety of fashions in which language festivals may be conducted is given in the article "Festivals Click with Fun Plus Inherent FL Values" (37). Individual festivals are described in several recent articles, for example the ones by Giannetti (47), Jackson and Hatton (57), Keilstrup and Keilstrup (62), and Meyer (81). A common ingredient in all successful foreign language festivals is extensive student involvement in a wide range of interesting activities, many of which require active use of second language skills.

The German faculty of the University of Texas at Arlington sponsors two festivals each year, one in the spring for college students and another in the fall for high school students (Keilstrup, 61). The spring festival is patterned somewhat after the annual event which has been a part of the activities of the Texas Association of German Students for over twenty years (98). Students from area colleges and universities are invited to present skits and plays in German, and awards are presented for the best productions, best performers, and best directors. The advantages of play production to foreign language learning are obvious. Student performers must spend many hours memorizing lines and practicing pronunciation until the linguistic patterns in the play become a part of their active vocabulary. Language students in the audience are able to practice their listening skills, often after having read the plays in class or having seen English synopses. The activity spills over into the community as members of local ethnic groups are invited to be part of the audience.

The autumn festival at the University of Texas at Arlington more nearly falls into the mold of the typical language festival. A wide variety of events are scheduled, ranging from a root-beer-drinking contest and mountain climbing to academic pursuits such as poetry reading and dramatic monologues (Keilstrup, 61; Keilstrup and Keilstrup, 62). With such a wide range of events, each student has an opportunity to participate and to excel in something. Of course, not all activities are related to language learning; though of course it is the learning function of language festivals that is of primary concern in this chapter.

A "fair" amount of learning

Oral and listening skills are practiced in poetry readings, dramatic monologues, skits, and student-produced films. While designed primarily as an opportunity for students to speak in the second language, it is also hoped that the performances will be understood by the audience. In the oral competitions at the University of Texas at Arlington, scoring is heavily weighted toward correct pronunciation (Keilstrup, 61). Indeed, oral and listening skills are practiced at every turn in a language festival if a conscious effort is made to avoid the use of English. Students are motivated to speak the second language when they receive positive reinforcement to do so. For example, finding themselves unable to purchase a cold drink using English, they will try to use the other language.

Reading skills are practiced if signs, instructions, and announcements are printed in the target language. Reading comprehension is promoted in an active way in automobile and bicycle rallies and hikes. Events of this type are not based on speed or physical endurance but on the ability to understand written instructions. Competitors are unable to complete the rally or hike unless they are able to interpret instructions posted at different points along the way. In the VW rally at the University of Texas at Arlington "Novemberfest," the passenger in each car must answer a list of questions about things seen along the course of the rally (Keilstrup and Keilstrup, 62).

The opportunity for students to practice with their writing skills at a language festival is often bypassed because of the nature of the event. The day of the festival is filled with activity, and students usually have neither the time nor the inclination to take part in a quiet writing activity. The Keilstrups (61) have overcome this obstacle by holding a composition contest in which students complete their writing at home before they come to the festival.

When language festivals are carefully planned and well coordinated, they expand the instructional setting, and give students a chance to communicate in the foreign language—an important part of the learning process.

Ethnic festivals, events staged to emphasize the ethnic heritage of a community, can also provide a setting for language learning. However, because they are often conducted in English, such festivals provide more motivation for language learning than actual learning of the language. There are usually people, often senior citizens, at these festivals who speak the target language, and these individuals should be sought out. Students should be encouraged to converse with them, and they can be part of important classroom activities such as interviews and pen-pal arrangements.

Study abroad

Up to this point we have discussed nontraditional language-learning settings within the country. We now turn our attention to the accepted tradition, that one of the best ways to learn a language is to spend some time in the country where it is spoken. Study abroad has been discussed in previous volumes of this series, particularly by Allouche and Ervin (2) and Bourque (14); readers are referred to those chapters for a more extensive treatment of the subject. Recent indications are that long-term study-abroad programs have fallen into decline (Fugate, 45; Iaquinta, 55). This is probably due to several factors, including the decrease in foreign language enrollments and the general economic condition of this country, but many programs do still exist. A recent publication by the Institute of International Education describes 699 programs in at least fifty-four countries (Cohen, 22). In fact, Haenicke (48) urges persons not to establish new junior-year-abroad programs because enough of them are already available.

Bourque (14) divides study-abroad programs into two categories: short-term programs and extended stays. To these might be added exchange programs and independently arranged programs, although each could be subsumed by Bourque's categories. Whereas short-term programs are conducted between semesters or during the summer and are of limited duration, extended stays include year-abroad programs, some of which are overseas campuses maintained by American colleges and universities. Exchange programs involve partner schools and intercampus arrangements. Independently arranged programs are those in which a student enrolls on his own in a foreign institution even though there is no formal arrangement for credit transfer with an American institution. While each type of program provides an opportunity for extending the instructional setting, the amount of learning that takes place depends upon the motivation of the student and the organization of the programs. We all know of students who have returned from a program abroad having made a giant leap toward bilingualism. On the other hand many students go overseas and never venture from the American speech islands they help to create. Although returning culturally enriched because of their new surroundings, their linguistic ability has not advanced very far.

Short-term programs have the advantages of lower cost and easier integration into students' academic programs. Many foreign language faculty members are able to arrange intersession or summer courses abroad which can take advantage of charter flights. The Universities of Nebraska at Lincoln and Omaha sponsor a joint charter flight to Europe between the fall and spring semesters; many of the courses, including those in language, are conducted by Nebraska faculty members as a part of the program. One such course, offered to fourth-semester German students, features intensive language study during the mornings; students are urged to explore cultural attractions independently during the afternoons (Cory, 27). Reynolds (93) describes several overseas programs, such as one led by Gilbert which includes visits with German families and lodging in youth hostels.

Ternes (107) has devised a unique ten-week course conducted during the summer. In Ternes' program, students from Lawrence University spend four weeks in Germany at a Goethe-Institut for intensive language instruction. This is followed by one week of independent travel and five more weeks of study in Munich. During their stay in Munich, students live with German families and are taught by native instructors in a variety of locales including art museums and the Amerika-Haus. In this way, Ternes is able to keep the cost of the program low and to add a cultural component that would have been impossible if the students had spent their entire stay at a Goethe-Institut Students at the University of Minnesota at Morris can enroll in a ten-week course in Spanish conducted in Mexico (Turner, Hinds, and Tatum, 112). After several weeks of intensive language training, they undertake small projects such as studies of the Mexican prison system or of life in a Mexican neighborhood.

Many colleges and universities operate year-long programs abroad, often in cooperation with a foreign university but sometimes through the maintenance of a campus abroad. Generally of high quality, these programs offer the advantage of easy transfer of credits earned. Students enroll through the sponsoring American institution and receive its academic credits which can then be transferred to the students' home campus. Despite the good reputation of most year-abroad programs, foreign language faculty members should carefully review programs with prospective students. Before enrolling, students should determine that their particular academic and personal goals will be met, and that their home campus will indeed accept academic credits earned. Many students find that they cannot afford to study abroad for an extended period, not only because of the cost of the programs, but also because of earnings lost during the residency abroad. Those who must finance their schooling with part-time and summer employment find extended study abroad financially difficult.

Exchange or partnership programs are a good way to reduce the cost of study abroad while making the experience especially meaningful. A direct exchange is made of students in an American school with students in a school abroad. Classes at Ballwin Parkway West Senior High School in Missouri exchange realia and letters with pupils in their partner school before the visit is made (Reynolds, 93). The foreign students visit one year and the Americans the next.

Schelert (100) reports that Lincoln, Nebraska, Public School students receive visiting guests from Europe during the month of April. The European students spend four weeks in the homes of the Americans and attend high school with them. After a two-week summer orientation session, the American students visit the European school, living with the families of their guests of the previous spring. Schelert was able to locate a partner school through personal contacts, but Winterscheidt and Frey (115) report that German teachers can receive help in finding a partner school through the Goethe Institute in Boston which operates the German-American Partnership Program. Inquiries about the program should be sent to the Goethe Institute, 170 Beacon Street, Boston, MA 02116. Partnership programs can also be successful at the college level. Kitzler (66) indicates that the cost of an overseas program at the University of South Dakota has been kept low because of an exchange program which he has arranged with citizens of a European city.

Sometimes students are encouraged to enroll in foreign institutions independent of an arrangement with an American school or college. The danger of such action is that the difference in grading systems might make transferring of credits difficult. Unless a student plans to complete studies in another country, he or she should be aware of the regulations as to transfer of credits before embarking on an independently arranged program abroad. The University of Connecticut has developed a cooperative program with the Goethe-Institut in Germany which issues University of Connecticut academic credit for work done at the German institution (Austin, 3). The program marks a step in the direction of making foreign educational experiences more accessible to American students.

While a number of opportunities exist for allowing American foreign language learners to study in other countries, the cost of study abroad continues to be prohibitive for large numbers of students. As educators, we need to seek ways such as partnership arrangements, work-study programs, and scholarship aid which can help to make study accessible; we might also capitalize more on exchanges with non-English communities closer to home, such as in Canada and Mexico.

Conclusions

Learning takes place in many settings, and although none of the alternative settings will completely replace the traditional classroom in the foreseeable future, each offers a useful option for expanding language learning into the larger community. When foreign language study is extended beyond the confines of the classroom, increased visibility of the program occurs, and students find new motivation for studying languages. However, any modification of a foreign language curriculum must be preceded by thoughtful planning; once a new program has been added, it needs to have the enthusiastic and dedicated support of its teachers, and if possible, of administrators and colleagues in other disciplines. Several specific conclusions can be reached concerning the types of programs mentioned in this chapter.

1 Although intensive foreign language courses are more prevalent at the college level, there seems to be no persuasive reason why they cannot also be effective at the secondary level. Contrary to a belief held by some,

intensive language courses do *not* diminish enrollment in regularly scheduled courses. In fact, students who have studied a language intensely at the beginning level seem more likely to enroll in advanced courses.

2 Interdisciplinary programs involving foreign languages are on the increase in this country. Interesting ways are being found to combine languages with study in other disciplines, and the possibilities for such combinations appear endless. Foreign language educators ought to be especially concerned that their subject be an integral part of every international studies and area studies program. This can be accomplished only if ties are cemented with colleagues in other disciplines.

3 Language camps have become an increasingly popular way of providing students with linguistic and cultural immersion, and they should be viewed as possible adjuncts to all foreign language programs, large and small. Language camps are effective learning sites for students of all ages. They provide an effective vehicle for reestablishing foreign languages in elementary schools, they are welcomed enthusiastically by students of secondary school age, and they become efficient training sites for future foreign language teachers.

4 Language festivals and ethnic festivals are often thought of for their motivational purpose alone; however, their function as sites for language learning should not be overlooked. Language festivals can be arranged around a single theme or a single foreign language, or they can be multilingual affairs with an international flavor. Because of the wide variety of activities possible, language festivals appeal to learners of all ages.

5 Lengthy periods of study abroad are out of the reach of many students because of the expense involved, but short-term study-abroad programs continue to flourish. Educators have found several ways of offering quality short-term programs while keeping the costs of the programs down; these include exchange programs and home stay components. More possibilities need to be investigated for making study abroad available to large numbers of foreign language learners, including a search for increased funds for student scholarships and work-study programs abroad.

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Responding to today's issues

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During the 1976 American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages Annual Meeting in New Orleans, the Program Committee attempted to identify the major issues of the profession today by organizing, in conjunction with the Strasheim address (99), a series of sessions in which the membership was encouraged to express its primary concerns. Using these results as a base and adding to them expressions of opinions found at conferences, in newsletters, through field observation, and by personal communication, this chapter continues in one sense the work begun by Brannon and Cox (13) in assessing current attitudes within the profession at large and in describing some attempts to meet the common problems.

The public support issue

Last year Brannon and Cox (13, p.174) stated, "In the face of declining enrollments, reduced language requirements, and tightened budgets, we as a profession can no longer sit back and engage in what one might term 'communicative inbreeding.'" The issue of garnering public support and increasing public awareness still looms as a major concern; during the November 1976 discussions in New Orleans, 38 out of the 118 tabulated comments (Altman, 2) were addressed to this issue. The need for promoting and improving our public image in all areas outside the profession and informing the community about foreign language educational goals is still an overriding problem. Ayers, a high school teacher in Washington, is one of many who echo this feeling: "The most important problem facing lan-

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guage teachers today is the crisis of falling enrollments and the loss of public concern about foreign language learning" (6, p.3).

Certainly the past year has shown that a lack of community support or a negative community reaction can have far-reaching effects. The most widely publicized case in point occurred in West Virginia (Saunders, 90) with the textbook controversy; as a result of community dissatisfaction, textbook committees now have a 70 percent parental representation *with* veto powers; expressions such as "*Zut alors!*" which could be equated to "Damn!" are not allowable textbook copy; classroom conversation with questions that probe "family matters" are no longer permissible. The North Central Accreditation Association seriously considered a proposal by South Dakota and Illinois to delete foreign languages, along with fine arts, from the list of subjects required for accreditation by secondary schools. Noble (73), in cooperation with Miller (68), contacted individual state representatives and sent a nationwide mailing to request support for the retention of these areas; the proposal to delete was voted down. As Strasheim (99) warns, "The uneasy status of foreign languages in the curriculum is an issue that can no longer be 'skirted' as it has been in the past" (p.8). In some states—Texas, South Carolina, North Carolina, Minnesota—enrollments seem to have begun an upward swing, and in others, such as Virginia, they have stabilized; nationwide, however, they continue to decline. Every foreign language educator needs to give serious thought to the question: Should foreign languages be threatened by my local decision makers, what kind of community support could I enlist?

Achieving visibility

An attitude seems to be growing rapidly within the profession that we not only need improved public communication but it is *our* responsibility to accomplish it. While some comments suggest that the task of taking our case to the community belongs to the professional organizations, a more common conviction is that "we need to learn to be leaders ourselves" (Altman, 2). Coley and Franke (19), authors of a Maryland career survey, found that in addition to educating students foreign language teachers must let the community know what they have to offer businesses. Forcellina (34) believes that the foreign language departments must do the informing about their role in developing humanistic future citizens. From an Iowa teacher (Becker, 8) comes the exhortation that we seek publicity for our successes by making opportunities for visibility. He suggests creating a foreign language prize since "it is not the size or appearance of the award that is important, but the actual act of giving and the publicity that you will reap from the act" (p. 23). Nordby (75) states that "language teachers need to incorporate into their program something that can be seen not just by their students but also by the parents and others in the community. Whether you carry foreign flags in the Homecoming parade, sell tacos at football games, sing Christmas carols in German, or sponsor your own chariot races, make sure the public knows about it. . . . Parents can become excited and supportive by simply seeing their own children in action" (p. 18).

Across the country, activities to gain visibility are on the increase, from large, regional events like the Southeastern Language Fair at Ohio University in Athens to small, individual school events. Among recent events in South Carolina which reflect what is happening nationwide are a poetry recitation contest for an audience of language classes with prizes provided by the teacher; a three-day drama festival, one day for each language taught; a caroling group that goes to senior citizens homes; a Noel *réveillon* for students and parents; an international food festival open to the community; and a very intricate junior high school three-day International Week that includes one day of language classes for everyone, with a choice of twelve different languages, one day of booths and games, and one day of international Olympics events.

Foreign Language Weeks, self-proclaimed or official, are also on the increase and are celebrated by similar visibility activities. One of the most enthusiastic official Foreign Language Weeks was held in February in North Dakota (Olafson, 77) where the foreign language association arranged for the governor's proclamation, complete with media pictures, and provided a number of local stations throughout the state with the ACTFL promotional tape, "A key word this year is PUBLICITY!" To encourage the community to take full advantage of the week, the association also printed in its newsletter a number of suggestions for local schools. The activities were geared to a "three-pronged" approach. Activities such as contacting local banks, motels, and businesses to display Foreign Language Week notices on their marquees, setting up store window displays, sending foreign language information brochures home, and using community resource people in special presentations and events were aimed at the *community*. *School* activities included translating the cafeteria menus, the school song, the weather, and the top ten hits into several foreign languages, exchanging days with other classes by having folk dances in the gym class, introducing foreign language songs in Chorus, word borrowings in English, foreign masters in Art, current foreign events in History, taking advantage of bulletin boards and using poster appeal, labeling everything in a foreign language, holding a foreign foods bake sale, playing foreign music over the intercom between classes, sponsoring a foreign film, having all foreign language students wear promotional buttons, setting up a display in the library, and inviting the faculty and administration for a departmental tour and party. In the *classroom* there were short-wave radio programs, special presentations, mimes and charades, special art, foods, or music projects, career discussions, a special Foreign Language Week newspaper, and fun days with word games like tongue twisters and others like an Eiffel Tower ring toss, drawing a monument blindfolded, or whistling the (foreign) anthem with a mouth full of crackers.

The Bicentennial celebration gave great impetus in this area, and during the past year it was the most important focus of community and media publicity. Foreign language newsletters and special publications abound with the tremendous variety of special activities: meeting descendants and relatives of famous local historical figures, visiting the French ships that came to port, finding historical community and personal roots, interviewing community people from various ethnic groups, conducting ethnic parties, taste-ins, arts and music festivals, preparing photographic, geographic, and handcraft projects related to local history, sponsoring special performance events. It would seem that foreign language teachers could continue to explore this avenue of public relations without waiting another hundred years before again making a connection with this rich heritage. In South Carolina alone a treasury of historical documents in the Caroliniana Library was "rediscovered." The few anecdotes chosen and molded into write-it-yourself play formats for the high school level touched only a fraction of the eyewitness accounts, diaries, and letters in every major library that await some editing and adapting to bring them to the foreign language classroom and the community at large.

Media connections

In addition to publicity achieved through this wide variety of public events, more foreign language educators are seeking ways to have feature articles included in educational and trade journals. Probably the most unusual article to appear this past year was the one in the 7 June 1976 issue of *Sports Illustrated* which covered the Fifth National Catapult Contest in Indianapolis. On a more traditional note, Altman (3) has given names of resource people to the editors of state educational journals throughout the country suggesting that they feature foreign languages in one of their issues. Warriner, Cox, and Brannon (115) requested that the editor of the Virginia *Journal of Education* feature foreign languages and volunteered their assistance in preparing the copy. The editor was "most cooperative", and in the March 1976 issue there appeared a four-article coverage of such topics as enrollments, projects for classroom replication, new curriculum trends, more and better use of media, and career education. In South Carolina the profession had the unusual luck of having its advertising done for it: the State Development Board released the information that in 1976 over $1.5 billion of foreign capital was invested in industry and commerce in the state, and Banker's Trust ran a TV commercial that stated, "One out of every four jobs in South Carolina depends on international trade." Our only task was to help further the message. But undoubtedly the publicity most widely disseminated on behalf of foreign languages was the article in *Time* magazine (16 August 1976) describing the new popularity of foreign languages at Dartmouth and featuring John Rassias.

At the local level teachers are being encouraged by their state organizations to improve their chances of getting media coverage for events and activities by knowing how to prepare their articles in proper newscopy format and directing it to the proper personnel. The *MALT Bulletin* (Crowley et al., 23) has recently included an entire article alerting Montana teachers to the kinds of news articles appropriate for various media, the proper pyramid format for writing releases, and the procedure for contacting the right person at various kinds of media offices.

Closely related to the media efforts are public awards initiated by foreign language teacher organizations and agencies which in turn serve as press release material. The Pro Lingua Award (110) is a public relations function of the Washington AFLT which invites all teachers in the state to send in nominations of individuals to be recognized for "outstanding contributions in promoting and understanding other languages and cultures." Nominees are considered in the categories of parent, community, student, teacher, administrator, agency/organization, business leader, elected official, researcher, and media.

The foreign language staff of the Texas Education Agency has initiated the Selection of Successful Foreign Language Programs in Texas Schools (García, 42), with the objectives of giving visibility to foreign language programs across the state, providing motivation for curriculum planners, and acknowledging those foreign language teachers and administrators who are doing a good job. A committee selected twenty programs and five alternatives for visitation during the 1976-77 school year. These schools were subsequently described in a brochure now disseminated throughout the state. Selection was made according to a seven-criteria guideline, of which two were administrative and five were curricular.

At a local level, Martin (65) holds an awards banquet at noon in a restaurant with parents, administrators, and key community figures invited. Prizes are awarded for each level of language study in categories that the students themselves have determined: Most Improved, Most Studious, Best Pronunciation, Best Student, Most Interested; in addition, there is a Vivian Martin Hall of Fame Award for any student who maintains an A average throughout four years of Spanish study.

Also on the increase as a channel to visibility and media support is the soliciting of statements from prestigious figures at the local, state, and national level. On the campus, statements from administrators, football heroes, and class presidents can appear in the student newspaper. Using community resources, *Tape Hiss* (102) features local Nevada businessmen such as the French owner of a new French restaurant who receives advertising through the newsletter while foreign language teachers receive a "customer's" statement of support for our "product": "Having studied Latin as a child made English much easier to learn" (p. 25). The Indiana newsletter included a statement from a former member of the Indiana International Trade Division of the Indiana State Department: "The actual situation in

Indiana today, and the potentials for the future should assure them [the students] that the field of international trade and activities in many different areas of endeavor in Indiana is a growing and important one" (Gregor, 48, p. 3–4).

Supporting the humanistic goals of foreign language are statements such as the one obtained by Griffin (35) from Ricardo Montalban, and that printed in the *Massachusetts FL Bulletin* (67) by Senator Edward Kennedy. Yet another important opportunity for soliciting statements comes during political elections; increasingly, the officers of foreign language state organizations are, like Reichmuth (84) in Montana, requesting from state superintendent candidates and those seeking other decision-making posts a statement of their position regarding foreign languages. The major political statement of this past year has been that of President Jimmy Carter, which was intended to serve as a proclamation for Foreign Language Week (16).

The most important aspect of such statements is not their content but the witness they bear to the fact that there is, at all levels, real support for our profession. It is up to us, however, to seek it out and, once it is found, to publicize it both within our own profession and the wider community.

Administrative connections

This evidence of community support has no doubt been one factor in whatever progress has been made with administrators and guidance personnel regarding foreign language programs, and the many visibility-oriented activities have also contributed in this area. However, foreign language teachers are also demonstrating greater aggressiveness in their immediate dealings with both guidance personnel and with administrators. As was pointed out in a joint panel of foreign language educators and guidance personnel (94), during registration time all counselors are barraged by requests from every department in the school; to be heard in the clamor, one needs to shout. Foreign language teachers are designing and implementing introductory and exploratory courses; they are also taking the initiative in recruiting, often going on orientation visits to the junior high schools to promote, through brief talks or even musical skits with a frankly Madison Avenue appeal, the foreign language program awaiting the students. Knop (60) reports that a Wisconsin teacher sends an orientation letter to elementary school students encouraging them to take foreign language when they come to junior high school, and her enrollments have doubled.

An interesting success story concerning aggressive recruiting comes from Massachusetts where Bocchino (12) and other teachers in the language department, realizing that the current methods were unsuitable, convinced the guidance staff to follow a more viable procedure that quadrupled enrollments by expanding a limited, selective program to include all seventh graders. Increased enrollments carried over into upper-level courses. Even without active participation in recruiting visits and policies, teachers can revamp their course descriptions from the dry, commonplace "Beginning study of the four skills, with equal attention . . ." to "Enter the world of fine foods, ballet, freedom fighters and high fashion. . . ."

Foreign language educators are also becoming more aggressive in dealing with administrators, not through confrontations, but by meeting them on their own grounds of accountability, pragmatism, and management expertise. Before making a request of an administrator, advises West (116), have your facts in hand and clearly stated. A good example, done at the state level by García (42), is an easy-to-read map showing with exact figures various concentrations of elementary Spanish enrollments throughout Texas by regions and counties; this map accompanied a request that a textbook category for elementary Spanish be created. When Gage (40) spoke to 225 administrators from the Oklahoma schools, he focused on the usefulness of foreign language as an ancillary skill, whatever the individual future career choice might be. Remirez (86), in addressing the faculty and administration at Wofford College, recognized the valid grounds for the recent decision to drop the foreign language requirement but then asked if the faculty would or would not be willing to reassess that decision in the light of new circumstances; the requirement is now reinstated.

In the schools, teachers find more success dealing with most administrators if they deal in terms of realities of budget and minimum school standards; if there are not enough students for an advanced level program, the teacher must recognize this and offer some feasible alternative, such as an aides program or a well-structured combined-level class. Teachers are also communicating better with administrators to let them know that the foreign language program is not (necessarily) the same kind of classroom experience that the administrators themselves experienced as one-time, and all too often unsuccessful, foreign language students.

It should also be taken into account that in all other areas the average administrator feels confident of his capacity to evaluate and make decisions about the curriculum and its implementation, but when faced with the foreign language program, he feels uneasy; this in itself can generate alienation. In an effort to ameliorate this reaction, Enwall (30) has published a booklet that tells administrators of the heavy foreign investment in South Carolina, the rising foreign language enrollments, the factors that effect the enrollment percentages in individual schools, the state averages and medians that are clues to look for in a foreign language classroom to determine the effectiveness of the program, and the possible and practical solutions to common problems. A list of textbook titles and how to pronounce them is enclosed, so that no administrator need be embarrassed by stumbling over the unfamiliar words, for an embarrassed administrator is not a receptive one.

The strongest approach to gaining administrative support seems to be a strong, effective program. In the first place, it enlists the power of parental support to which every administrator is sensitive. Administrators also have professional pride; if in their school the foreign language program surprises them by its strength, they will become increasingly supportive. They will also serve as an influence on other administrators who look across a district boundary, see a lively program at someone else's school, and feel the first flutter of dissatisfaction with their own. District administrators who learn that a smaller, and, in their opinion, inferior district has appointed a staff member to assume part-time duties as a foreign language coordinator will feel the first twinge of uneasiness. Their progress toward full support may not be as rapid as we would wish, but refraining from guilt-provoking reproaches about the failures of the past and giving credit for whatever initial steps are taken provide encouragement for administrative efforts to continue and to grow. School administrators are no more pleased to have foreign languages, in Benmaman's phrase (9), as "a quiet corner on the curriculum plate" than we are.

Administrative support is also one of the best channels to financial support. While the steady growth of sales of all kinds, donkey baseball events, slave auctions, carwashes, and fairs is not to be discounted, the important avenues of federal, state, and local funding are best reached from the administrative base. Title IV funds are available under Part B for library books, materials for academic areas, and, under Part C, for developmental projects and innovative ideas in curriculum. In Nebraska, Nielsen (72) reports, Title IV funds can offer teachers mini-grants for a maximum of $1,500, grants up to $2,500 for importing program plans, and demonstration project grants. Teachers in southeastern Connecticut (Hemphill, 56) are applying for $30,000 under Title IV for secretarial services, a newsletter, films and cassette tapes, and workshops in support of a new regional foreign language center to be set up in summer of 1977. At the center, teachers will develop new curricula for their schools and will investigate new methods of teaching foreign languages.

The National Endowment for Humanities has also issued a call for foreign language projects which has been well answered; moneys are available for a variety of programs, such as the Media Program that funds collaborative efforts between scholars and media producers for projects designed to reach a broad adult audience; the Museum and Historical Organizations Program provides funds for implementing and expanding programs that extend the horizons of knowledge in Exhibition, Interpretive Programs, and Personnel Development areas. Eddy conducted a modified, communicatively oriented version of the old NDEA Institutes last summer at Western Washington, funded by NEH, and this project will be replicated byMorain (71) in Georgia in the summer of 1977 for teachers from Georgia, Alabama, and South Carolina. The National Defense Foreign Language Fellowship Program still grants graduate fellowships for those preparing for employment as foreign language specialists, and there may be a new possibility of limited funds for certain types of activities abroad from State Department funds.

Crantford (21) has obtained funds from a Mellon grant for developing staff expertise and curriculum-oriented activities in foreign language career education.

Administrators also have information about and from the various seminars on Federal Funding for Schools held this past year, and they should be familiar with the Foundations Directory, on file in Atlanta, Boston, and New York, which lists available sources of funding and identifies institutions and foundations interested in education.

The unity issue

Ironically, a second issue has come very much to the fore during a period when the community at large seems to be giving more support to foreign languages: it deals with the lack of support from within the profession itself, in what might be termed the silent majority issue. Professional organizations to date have failed to attract sufficient membership to gain the focus and strength needed for an optimum effort on behalf of foreign languages. Of the tabulated responses from the ACTFL discussion sessions (Altman, 2), about half dealt with some aspect of dissatisfaction with the organization, either with the present status of cooperative efforts or the services currently offered. Although one might dismiss this high percentage on the grounds that the title of the sessions, "The Issue: ACTFL," tended to elicit specifically comments about the organization, one cannot dismiss the fact that those expressing dissatisfaction were already members in attendance at a national meeting; it must be assumed that the dissent would be much greater if the majority of foreign language teachers and educators outside the organization were to have responded. Responses to a questionnaire distributed to foreign language teachers in Washington and neighboring states (Reichmuth et al., 85) indicated that we are going in too many directions rather than uniting and organizing our efforts, our students, and ourselves.

Calls to join, to unite, to organize are repeated in every state. From Minnesota: "This is a time of crisis for language teachers and programs—in Minnesota, as well as across the nation. And it's a time to be reaching out to one another, to be sharing, a time when every voice is needed, every idea" (Pesola, 83, p. 1). From Utah: "Although we are pleased with the attendance, we would also like to know the other two-thirds in our state who never show their faces at these meetings" (109, p. 3).

The problem is not a lack of need on the part of the teachers. In South Carolina, as in many states, about half of the schools have only one foreign language teacher, and their feelings are well reflected in a statement made by Nordby (74) in Minnesota: "It's easy to feel very lonely being a language teacher ... When you get right down to it, my job is quite different from that of an English teacher or history teacher. There they sit—comfortably secure behind that impenetrable shield called "required courses." Every foreign language teacher could use a "big brother"—a source of ideas for . . . successful methods of building and maintaining foreign language enrollments."

Better services, better programs

One thrust of positive action to overcome this problem is the effort to provide more services to members and to identify those activities which would make membership more attractive. On a national level, ACTFL has increased its services by providing inexpensive, practical materials and has made of *FL Annals* a publication "dedicated to strengthening the role of foreign languages in American life . . . [that] seeks primarily to serve the interests of *foreign language teachers,* regardless of the educational level or the language taught" (Strasheim, 99, p. 4). Currently under discussion are the possibilities of providing regional workshops and various cooperative activities with state and regional organizations.

Similarly, state organizations are attempting to solicit from their members indications for positive directions in the future. In Minnesota (Pesola, 83), a contest was announced to establish a new name for the organization which would include all languages in the state and to design a logo to represent the group. Kentucky (Miller, 69) and West Virginia (Wilhide, 118) solicited feedback by inserting a questionnaire in their newsletters. The Ohio Association (15) has an Educational Activities Committee which has recently published a booklet titled *OMLTA Workshops;* it contains a compact arrangement of information concerning policies, responsibilities of local workshop directors, guidelines for selecting a consultant, site selection and publicity to facilitate planning local events.

As ACTFL broke away some years ago from the Modern Language Association in order to address more directly the foreign language educational field, some state organizations are also breaking away from their Educational Association base which has been felt to turn away members or submerge foreign language interests. Kentucky took this step in 1973 (Miller, 69), and Indiana (26) in the fall of 1975 for the first time provided a full-day conference on foreign languages during the time previously devoted to the general Education Association section meetings; the new format was very successful. North Dakota (33) is taking similar steps to enable non-NDEA members to attend the Teacher's Convention sectional so that they are not excluded from a semiannual meeting held in conjunction with the NDEA. The attendance of only two Latin teachers at the last North Dakota meeting was attributed to "the fear that impecunious teachers are *personae non gratae* at meetings organized by the NDEA" (p. 8). A similar objection to the high cost of joining in comparison with the amount of service rendered to foreign language interests prompted, several years ago, the formation in South Carolina of a SCCFLT. Interesting enough, art educators and biology teachers broke away from the SCEA for the same reasons, with reports (Cromer, 22; Hatfield, 53) of great increase in membership.

The other major avenue for increasing membership and meeting attendance has been to improve the programs at the meetings. For the 1976 national AATSP meeting in Atlanta, the program committee sought to attract teachers at all levels through twenty-four one-hour special interest sessions. State organizations are planning their meetings to coincide with the regional meeting held in their state: Ohio teachers will meet with the Central States Conference, Florida teachers will meet with the Southern Conference. There are also new combinations of joint area meetings: Greater Cincinnati and Northern Kentucky met together in 1976 as did Washington and Oregon; in the fall of 1977 the two Carolinas will meet together with tentative plans for each to meet with another neighboring state the following year. Planning a program that breaks through state boundaries offers an opportunity to broaden resource personnel bases and the range of teachers with whom sharing sessions can be held.

More difficult to broach is the quantity and quality of the program, no matter what its geographical base. Though a single speaker will not induce too many teachers to travel any great distance, state organizations can seldom afford a lavish program, nor can "new" faces for multiple sessions be easily found year after year within a given state. On the other hand, as Toussaint (107) points out, too many sessions can be counterproductive; individuals are frustrated at having to make choices between good sessions, and the complexity of too many offerings can be confusing. The coming OMTLA program (15) has "crept up to 55 sessions," and the question might be asked, is this an optimum number, or is it overchoice? At the 1976 Mountain Interstate Conference, the larger number of sessions, according to a number of comments by participants, seemed to depress the overall quality, which in past years had always been exceptional.

The problem of quality, the crucial content of the sessions themselves, is both difficult and delicate. Those who have organized sessions for conferences know that, even though papers are submitted in their entirety before selection, there is no assurance of the quality of the presentation. Coleman (18), when organizing the first Arkansas statewide conference in 1976, made a number of personal inquiries among state supervisors requesting names of "proven presenters" in order to insure that the invited speakers would give the kind of sessions that would encourage teachers to return a second year. The Texas Education Agency (105) publishes in its Proceedings a complete compilation of evaluation forms, including those for each individual session. A suggestion from the ACTFL sessions (Altman, 2) was that a speaker's bureau of successful presenters be maintained that would be available to conference organizers.

Allied to the problem of session quality and the "recycling" of so many of the same speakers regardless of the success of their presentation, is the feeling teachers have of being shut out, or not really involved, except as a source of revenue and audience. One comment made during the discussions (Altman, 2) accused national and state organizations of being elitist. However unfair this criticism may be, what is important is that there are many potential members of local and regional organizations who share this attitude, although it is seldom formally expressed except by nonattendance. One problem with some regional meetings is their failure to distribute responsibility equally among the participating states—and their programs reflect this disparity of representation. It is unrealistic to assume in these days of reduced travel budgets and burgeoning costs that educators will flock from one state simply to sit at the feet of educators or scholars from another, particularly when they heard the same ones the year before. In planning the Carolinas Conference, hoping to profit from what was heard and observed elsewhere, scrupulous care was taken by the joint planning committee that the program reflect an equal number of sessions from each state, that sessions be varied in format among presentation, panel, and workshop, and that as many people as possible be given some active role. Whether or not these attempts are successful will not be known for several months, but the initial publicity seems to be getting a positive response.

Another facet of making members feel more included in the meetings is hospitality, the creation of an atmosphere of colleagueship and sharing. The problem was discussed in the 1976 ACTFL Delegate Assembly and has been addressed in various state organizations. Social activities which provide opportunities for informal sharing of ideas and experiences seem to be one answer, and the number of wine-and-cheese tasting hours, dances, and banquets is increasing. North Carolina (Toussaint, 107) has found that a special breakfast with a speaker can be priced more attractively than a banquet. Welcoming committees of some kind have also been suggested, and a roster of participants by state might be kept so that the state officers and supervisors are aware of who from their state might need to be brought into the formal and informal social activities. Yet another way to involve teachers is to obtain recertification credit for attendance.

The role of colleges and universities

Colleges and universities in some states play an important role in overcoming the problem of the silent majority by serving as communications centers and as focal points of activities in their region. Grittner and Bosworth (50) edit a publication, *Information*, sent from the University of Wisconsin to foreign language departments in public and private schools; Knop (60) edits the *Wisconsin French Teacher* which disseminates a wide range of foreign language information and news to secondary teachers and college faculty; many universities, like the University of North Dakota, pay for production, mailing, and man-hour costs involved in sending out the state newsletter.

Hosting events for secondary school students and for teacher organizations is perhaps one of the most common roles that universities play in fostering unity among the profession in their particular state. The Annual Continuing Conference of Foreign Language Teachers in April 1977 was a coordinated effort of the State Department of Education and West Virginia University. In South Carolina, where the student population does not warrant duplication of efforts, each of several institutions makes differing types of contributions. Clemson University sponsors an annual Declamation Contest and an annual drama competition; Winthrop College hosts the Latin Forum, the newly founded Carolina Philological Foundation, and now a newly established plan (Zdenek, 120) for regional meetings with teachers, Winthrop faculty, and the state supervisor to determine how the college can best serve the teachers' needs. Wofford College hosts the immersion weekend for high school students throughout the state, and Furman University plans for spring 1978 the first International Career Day, also for high school students. Another kind of service was performed by Benmaman of the College of Charleston who was able, in a school district reluctant to offer services to its foreign language teachers, to secure for the teachers their first inservice day, with paid substitutes, by offering to host and organize the workshop in cooperation with the state supervisor, a service that she plans to continue on a regular basis.

The curriculum issue

While these mutually supportive efforts can be found in many states, they cannot obscure the fact that between the university and secondary schools, and within the university community itself, there exists a polarization of attitudes regarding curriculum content and future directions for foreign languages. Approximately fifteen of the suggestions tabulated at ACTFL sessions (Altman, 2) dealt with the educator's issue: curriculum. They focused on the need to upgrade teacher training, the need to include more business-oriented components, to provide more curricular options, to relieve excessive pressure to cover the textbook, to achieve better articulation between levels. Although this educator's issue occupied the smallest number of responses, it may be in the long run the one with the most serious implications for the coming years, for not only does it obstruct attempts at greater professional organization, but if the number of successful programs does not increase, it will inevitably lead to a decline in public support.

Nationally, our attrition rates show that we do not retain even an average of 10 percent of our students throughout a four-year sequence, and we lose almost half after one year of high school. The following statistics appeared in a national survey of high school enrollments published in 1975 and based on the 1972–73 statistics (101), to which have been added the percentage of attrition accumulated each year (See Table 1).

TABLE 1.
Foreign Language Enrollments

Year	French		German		Spanish	
I	614,348		242,678		1,117,541	
II	364,127	41%	137,714	44%	579,223	48%
III	273,356	72%	54,547	77%	209,112	82%
IV	77,706	89%	19,631	92%	71,559	94%

As Hancock (51) points out, it is not enough to advertise; one must also offer a reliable product: "To advertise one product—the aware, communicative, creative vision—and sell another, the tedious, decoding, drill-laden dehydrated reality. This is not as far-fetched as it might appear. There exists in the profession today a wide gap between what the educators who publish are suggesting in their articles, workshops, and guest appearances, and what is actually happening in many classrooms at all levels, from junior high school to FLES to graduate school" (p. 75). Warriner (114) expresses concern over the apparent lack of pedagogical direction since abandoning the audiolingual thrust of the 1960s, and Altman's address to SCOLT in Fall 1976 was "Stop the Pendulum, I Want to Get Off!" (4) There is an increasing concern over what might be termed the "gap" today in the profession—a gap between what is published and what is realized, between the number of students we enroll and those we retain, between the results we envision and the results we produce.

Closing the gap is important if the new wave of public support is to increase rather than recede and leave the profession stranded. Stephens (97), Academic Dean of Wofford College, where the language requirement was just reinstated, warns that the department must now deliver on its promises or the issue will come up again. From the opposite end of the country, the State Superintendent of Education in Montana (Rice, 87) claims that success fluctuates depending upon the competency of teachers. Beusch and De Lorenzo (10) fault the teaching profession with losing "... its momentum for developing the more practical goals of its subject area" (p. 10). Students and parents demand some visibly relevant or pragmatic justification for foreign languages.

Career education

Consequently, it is not surprising to find career education occupying a growing place in foreign language curriculum, not only as an occasional discussion, or a single Business German course, but also as an area major, an international business program, or a teacher training component. Does foreign language have a place for career education within the curriculum? For some, it does not. Since career education is evolving to mean much more than using the "In the Airport" units from Minnesota, or "Dinero" from South Carolina, or the new Maryland slide-tape presentation "Foreign Languages: An Added Attraction," it is making more demands on commitment of staff and resources in a period of tightening budgets. It also involves new priorities in standard basic courses, since at present they do not prepare adequately for the career world. Gage (41) includes several comments in response to his career survey which are revealing in this regard. From the president of a food and chemical processing machinery manufacturer: "The past methods used to teach language are not proving acceptable in the business field, and the method is antiquated." And from a clerk for a hospital laboratory equipment manufacturer: "I personally have had a total of seven years of language in school and learned nothing useful. The Spanish taught in school should be more useful to the business world" (p. 8). Alter (5) points out that, if in the competitive job market foreign language is the "edge," then "... courses must be designed to give the edge and made to deliver what they promise" (p. 158). However, other foreign language educators disagree. There is growing concern, Starr (96) observes, that we should not "sell out to career goals and relinquish [our] claim to humanistic ones."

Teaching literature

Literature is another watershed in foreign language curriculum. Although Walker (111) observed that the "same learner who in the second or third year of study can walk through French or Spanish literature with a cane cannot cope with Russian literature except in a wheel chair" (p. 178), the Modern Language Association Executive Council in its recommendations in the early 1970s acknowledges literature as central to the foreign language discipline and considers it will probably remain so (Fryer, 37). College courses substantiate the prediction, and the Spanish Advanced Placement course has just this year added as a "new" author, Pablo Neruda. When Hecht (54) presented alternatives to literature for intermediate college reading for nonmajors, although his paper was well received, the follow-up discussion at the session expressed widespread conviction that the departments represented by the audience would categorically reject any suggestion to abolish literary readings at any level. For an intermediate French course developed around *Le Petit Prince*, Smith (93) feels the need to assure the reader that the approach has not slighted the literary quality of the work.

Henning (57) has just recently described the reading activity as one in which the teacher, or appropriate exercises, must be available "to direct [the student's] attention to the cues for person, number and tense" (p.543).

In contrast, Freed (36) believes that reading is not limping through with a cane, observing number, person and tense, but that it must involve, motivate, and oblige the student to use the written language to generate more language. Dietz (27) advocates a complete restructuring of the approach to make it relevant to the student, by changing methods from a cognitive to an affective focus:

> All of the methods to teaching literature . . . depend heavily if not exclusively upon the traditional lecture mode in which students are expected to assimilate a large amount of historical and sociological data and in which literary appreciation is attained ultimately through close textual readings and critical analysis . . . and does not recognize affective learning. . . . The teacher's function is to facilitate the expansion of the student's life experiences as well as his literary awareness, so as to permit the student to approach his reading of the literary work with experience and a greater capacity for sharing the author's humaneness and artistry (29).
>
> In this approach, the class time would be devoted as much as possible to free and open dialog . . . The objectives of the written exercises were twofold, to make the students write in the language and to encourage them to relate creatively their reading of . . . literature in their own contemporary experiences . . . In short, the teacher of literature must motivate the students to speak in the foreign language concerning things to which they relate (28, p. 275).

In the realm of literature, drama probably enjoys wider acceptance because of the opportunity it gives for more active participation in the language. Stanford University and the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill have departments that offer drama enactment as a standard course. Georgia (35) holds a very popular Annual Drama Contest for high school students; South Carolina is developing a curriculum guide for a "dramatic" advanced-level Spanish high school course combining the study of modern plays with the preparation of a formal performance. However, dramatics rather than drama are probably more widely used in the secondary classroom. Burns (14) uses a variety of television quiz-show formats and participant shows such as "This is Your Life" for third-year Spanish; Garrett (43), for advanced French, uses historical dramatizations and "press interviews" as a follow-up activity to research projects. In college beginning language classes, Wannamaker (112) has German students write and perform McDonald commercials on videotape, and Robe (88) is using puppets as a means to overcome inhibitions in French students. In Colorado (Harris, 52) high school students use the creative/dramatic techniques of elementary school classes for foreign language; for example, a student feels an object in a pillow case and describes what is felt, then the class guesses what it is; students create dramas around three objects, act out verbs, do role-playing, and develop contrast-conflict scenes.

There is a growing body of opinion that for intermediate college classes and for advanced-level high school, literature is not only not central but may even be completely inappropriate. Thomas (Knop, 60) at the University of Wisconsin-Madison has restructured her third semester so that the basic learning materials consist of a wide variety of readings in the student's specialization. Some educators believe that a more effective route to increasing language proficiency is to study not literature but some completely different subject matter through the medium of the target language; Thomas has arranged, for example, to have biology classes taught in German. Golub (46) states, "I don't think the Russians are pushing children into French bilingual schools just for economy's sake. I think it's pedagogically sound." "People can learn another language by studying something else in that language . . . This is one of the principles of second language acquisition that bilingual education has retaught us," says Abrams (1).

As high school teachers diversify their advanced-level language courses, the units and minicourses seem to include less and less literature. The teacher-aide format often excludes it. In Nebraska (78), Northwest High School students, in teams of two or three, have been presenting fifteen-minute language lessons to elementary school pupils during a seven-week period. At Aiken High School in South Carolina (Moore, 70) German IV students will be in the same class with a group of German I students, serving as student aides and learning by teaching. Literature is becoming less popular as an answer, especially for dual-level classes, since the reading activity too often becomes the sole, and all too often passive, focus of the program under a teacher trying to juggle two programs at once.

The basic direction

The objectives of the basic courses in foreign language also represent a divided camp where the major fissure seems to be forming between the secondary schools and the institutions of higher learning. On the one side is the expectation by higher education, which Grittner (49) termed "the intimidation of secondary schools," that students have a thorough knowledge of grammar and, if advanced, some knowledge of literature. Many teachers at high school are concerned with preparation for college and, like Roos (89) believe that students should be told that colleges are retaining the requirement for graduation in many fields. Many administrators, too, see this as the best—if not the only—reason for keeping foreign languages in the secondary school curriculum.

On the other side is the rapidly mounting conviction that new methods and goals need to be found to combat the high attrition rate. All foreign language educators would agree with the goal of increased enrollments, but the question is *how* to hold the students and *which* students to hold. A large segment of opinion believes that the key to success lies in the student's acquiring and perceiving that he has acquired some degree of communicative ability in the language. Sell (92) says that after four semesters of effort the average student of a foreign language is neither willing nor able to communicate freely on a simple level. An emphasis on mastery of the code, or at least practice in effective communication . . . has been underscored by Oates (76) and Stanley (95) as a goal in line with student desires. "The act of mastering a new skill, especially one which opens new ways for expressing oneself, is deeply satisfying, exhilarating . . . Our task is to make sure that all our students reach these bubbling and blabbering stages, that they really master the skill, learn the foreign language" (Alter, 5, p. 159). Even listening must be active, purposive listening, in activities designed to force the group participant to listen actively and understand what other group members communicate.

While many educators would not take exception in theory to this goal of active use, many do oppose it in practice, at least in the sense of the newer, communicative teaching techniques. Warriner (113) mentions a recent college textbook with irrelevant exercises such as finding the scissors in the drawer, and such comments and conversations as don't sign here but on the back, I don't want you to go but stay, have you ever been in Lima? To this example could be added others that parade under the guise of "Conversation," such as "Is San Francisco a big city?," "Do you often wear a tie?" which aid very little in helping the student communicate any ideas of his own. Dannerbeck (24) points out very effectively, by reading their English translations, the "relevancy" and "interest" of selections in a variety of current beginning textbooks. Students frequently rank the ability to speak the highest in their expectations, says Feeny (32); "yet, all too often his first year of language study offers little or no opportunity for anything resembling spontaneous expression" (p. 81).

More important, there are those who believe that the "old realism" of vocabulary and grammar in its traditional sense should be the future direction of foreign language study. Oonk (79) from Texas believes that the new realism is retreating back to old methods, old-fashioned ways of learning vocabulary and grammar justified by students' positive reactions to more demanding courses and their negative reactions to boring drills, boring labs, and teachers who try to be popular by lowering their standards. Others, like Gaarder (39), believe that a return to the audiolingual is indicated: "While it is true today that programmed learning as applied to foreign language has not fulfilled the promises made for it ten years ago, everything still points to its eventual success. . . . The learner's task [is] reducible to a series of patterns-plus-lexical-items that must be mastered by habituation both singly and in endless recombinations" (p. 186).

Another objection to the newer, communicative methods is that they take time, and the teacher will not be able to "cover the textbook." However, the question is being raised as to whether this might not be the fault of the textbooks (Lide and Carney, 64). Strasheim accuses them of being "overwritten already by a third to a half" (99, p. 6). The list of 1976 textbook adoptions in South Carolina has been restructured in order to allow the secondary school teachers the option of distributing the material in the basic program (Levels I-II) over a three-year period to give them the time needed to spend on verification and active use.

Teachers are also seeking ways to avoid dependency on grammar analysis and grammar labels, since they are faced with students who have no real grasp of grammar and are intimidated or bored by it. Furthermore, many grammatical terms used in foreign language are not clearly delineated in the adolescent mind of the English speaker: "the infinitive," the differences between "he *fought*" and "he *has fought*," much less the need to bother with a whole new tense to differentiate between the two. Paulson and Paulson (82) advocate avoidance of the term "subjunctive" as a way of allaying student fears. Instead of teaching "the imperative," King and Sverre (59) have demonstrated the application of the Asher and Garcia theory of command-language learning and have extended it into teaching reading.

Accompanying this emphasis on active communication is the trend toward generating more creativity in the classroom process. From artificial intelligence researcher Winograd (119) comes the suggestion that herein lies true language activity: "Drop a sentence on the fertile field of the human mind and see it sprout in dozens of different directions" (p. 75). "That is essentially what happened to true audiolingualism, no creativity from day to day, but only replication." (Strasheim, 98, p. 8). Techniques to develop creative language use are explored by Birckbichler in Chapter 3. In a parallel development, the more passive, repetitious early stages of learning are being relegated to individualized packets or computer files (Davison, 25), but even a computer in today's communicative learning class, if it is like Terry's "Monique" (104), is something of a creatively communicative comedienne.

On university campuses where the active-use philosophy has made practical headway, the greater flexibility in college scheduling has added further dimensions to this approach. Dalhousie University (Carter and Ginsberg, 17) is experimenting with a modified individualized program that includes communicative activities which the students may either choose or devise themselves. The results in terms of mastery were good, but most impressive were the positive attitudes of the students toward French. The University of Tennessee (Hefflin, 55) offers an intensive language summer course for the uncommitted and for those in a hurry; ample use of the *Zarabanda* videotapes in combination with a variety of other materials, the use of a laboratory, and seven staff members for sixty students are the major features. For the past two years, Giaque (44) and others at the Georgia Institute of Technology have been refining a modified individualized instruction program in which the classroom is considered a workshop and general sessions are followed by small groups under the guidance of native assistants.

The future trend in secondary instruction can be easily seen in the kinds of state curricula being developed. The Texas Education Agency, in August 1976, published Spanish guidelines (103) that include learning objectives, learning activities, and evaluative activities for the four skills, plus culture and structure. The Oklahoma curriculum guide is also under revision (Gage, 40) with plans to make it as practical as possible in the broad range of school situations, so that sections will be included on foreign language in the small school, teaching more than one level in one class, foreign language for business and careers, promoting language study, and programs for the gifted. A Latin Curriculum Model, Level I, from Indiana is patterned after models developed by Lafayette and contains a grammar/vocabulary component, and reading "real" Latin and way-of-life components, with a delivery system encompassing whole class, small group, and independent study (Strasheim, 100). In South Carolina, the curriculum project underway in several districts is based on guidelines that use lexical, structural, and cultural objectives phrased in terms of desired communicative behavior, with a time schedule and activities that allow for mastery and active use of the language. In Nebraska, the new publication *Simulations in Foreign Language Level II* (Nielsen, 72) is designed to encourage skill-using as opposed to skill-getting in early stages of language learning. The position paper from the Pennsylvania State Department of Education (61) states, "Schools must offer foreign language study that is practical, meaningful and enjoyable to students of all levels of ability, interest and motivation." Communication, culture, creativity seem to mark the direction of state programs in the future.

"Back to basics"

Even as the profession prepares for a new direction, it must be prepared to defend itself in view of an old question. Will the current thrust of back-to-basics mean a return to what is commonly understood as traditionalism? "In the face of the recent emphasis in our schools in 'returning to the basics,' the concern for the high degree of functional illiteracy among the citizenry of the country, and the lack of ability among our children in the three Rs, the old specter of the elitist label for foreign languages, the luxury category, once more rears its head" (Gordon, 47). Doubt about the validity of their subject matter can assail teachers who, as stated earlier, feel lonely within the school, embattled by administration and the call for back to basics, and unprotected by any requirement. "Why Study Foreign Languages?" is still a popular workshop topic for foreign language teachers themselves. Tolliver (106) sees a conflict in what we say and in what we really do, so that our attempt at being "relevant" turns into a cry for stricter academic standards. Weeding out the "wrong kind of students" is the reaction not only of teachers beleaguered by their current dilemma, but of outside observers, too: Gaarder (38) in the U.S. Office of Education claims that foreign language learning is *not* for everyone, and Bird (11), author of *The Case Against Colleges*, calls the teaching of foreign languages, a "terrible waste."

Bird (11) gives no hard basis for her statements, only isolated personal experiences, but her remarks reflect a segment of community attitude that must be taken into account. Furthermore, it is true that the accounts of past failures and the lack of student motivation and achievement apply to foreign languages in their current status. What must not be overlooked, however, is that the same criticisms apply to education as a whole. As Postman and Weingartner stated in the first chapter of the popular *Teaching as a Subversive Activity*, every problem in foreign languages is merely a reflection, or, perhaps, the "fair share of criticisms being levelled at the whole educational system today. It has been variously attacked by major writers in recent years as irrevelant, shielding children from reality, educating for obsolesence, failing to develop intelligence, based on fear, avoiding the promotion of significant learnings, inducing alienation, and punishing creativity and independence."

All areas of the curriculum are being challenged to identify career implications for their subject-matter areas (Beusch and DeLorenzo, 10). Certainly the relevancy of any subject area can be questioned; how "useful" for the nonmajor is algebra or chemistry or history? How useful is football? Nor are teachers in other fields enjoying unprecedented success. In the April 1977 Education Report from the University of South Carolina, the lead article is "Why Are Students Learning Less and Less Mathematics?" Ott and Sommers (80) state that in spite of the attention and activity given recently to mathematics instruction, improvement in number skills has not resulted. Millions of dollars have been spent on teaching reading; yet, it is no secret that the results have been disappointing, and more than one citizen has filed suit against the school system for failing to teach him literacy skills. English teachers have a required twelve years to teach students their native language; yet, in 1975 Grittner (49) reported that at the University of Wisconsin School of Journalism 70 percent of the students failed an English grammar test. West (116) points out that teacher education in general is "random, spasmodic, group-oriented, course-oriented, out-of-touch and with minimal learning carryover," and some district and state agencies, rather than colleges, are developing their own teacher training programs, such as the Greenville 120-point plan (Ballinger, 7), which replaces the "6 unit" requirement with opportunities to obtain recertification credit through a variety of professional experiences more valid than those encountered in the average college classroom. As for motivation, the fact that students do sign up for the nonrequired foreign language can only be interpreted as a success; how many of them would sign up for English IV or yet another course in U.S. History-Civics-American Government were it not required? In South Carolina, the highest single cause of dropouts is: boredom.

It is not the students, but the delivery system throughout education that needs restructuring. Gaarder's statement (38) that "the student refuses to go the long, demanding road, the only one we know which will lead to control and competence of the languages" could come from any number of subject areas where the traditional way is still the "only one we know" (p. 152). Recent social studies activities in economics (Townsley, 108) for grades K–3, include a whole series of items such as, "Write a paragraph on the origin of products you use on the playground." Science teachers (Cromer, 22) too often prefer lecture to hands-on activity, and many English teachers (Wilhide, 118) see "grammar and composition" in the singular, "grammar." Physical education (Shreiner, 91) still has a number of coaches whose "only road" is "line them up in a row," and in guidance, (Craig, 20), where discipline and motivation are general problems, guidance responses are too often "Do what I say, not what I do." Educators such as Lessinger (63) have raised serious questions about our commonly accepted definition of the "three Rs." Are reading, writing, and arithmetic the essential priorities in education, or should they be the three Cs, competency, coping, and caring? Focus on a salable skill no longer meets the total needs of students who must live in the pressures of the shrinking world, must find meaningful use for increased leisure time, and seek answers to the gap between the advance of technology and the human condition.

In such a context, foreign languages have a most valid role. Starr (96) sees them as a vital component in both elite or mass education. "For every child who wants to be a well-rounded, well-informed human being living in the space age, the study of foreign languages must become a basic" (61, p. 1). But the corollary of this new basic is a viable, effective program.

As Infante (58) observes, "many of our educators and administrators have failed to realize that everything around us has changed and is constantly in a state of flux. . . . Consequently, it is important that we change our conception of language learning in terms of its practical application to time and space. Let us not be bound by textbooks, confined by classroom walls, or limited even by school premises; but rather let us go into the community, the real world." Masciantonio (66) calls for curriculum reform at all levels, from elementary school through graduate school. Larson (62) sees a great need to "rethink, redo and rewrite our entire repertoire of classroom procedure." "Back to basics? To me," says Knop (60), "it means that students should be showing tangible signs of learning such as being able to speak *correctly* . . . and being able to read and write fluently in the language. I suspect that the latter two skills will be more emphasized."

Conclusion

The curriculum issue is basic. On its successful resolution depends future community support and our own professional unity and welfare. Oudot (81) observes that we must cease philosophizing about the good old days and deal realistically with the present, and " . . . face the future, not by being passive or resigned to what we see in it, but by actively shaping it ourselves with our resolutions, actions, and involvement not only with students but with the public as well."

It is to be hoped that the profession will unify to meet the back-to-basics thrust with a strong, reorganized, relevant program, based not on what has gone past, but on what will answer future needs of the students who today are in school. Whatever the merits of the past, their time is over. To cling to them, be they old reality or new, might well put us in the position of the couple in Ionesco's *Amadeus*, and the dead body of outmoded practices will, as in the play, grow until it pushes us out of the curriculum room.

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Making crosscultural connections

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Introduction: The promise and problems of culture

American teachers of foreign language have long recognized a number of arguments supporting the inclusion of foreign culture in their classes. Student motivation, language competence, literary understanding, international responsibilities, self-knowledge, communicative competence, and simple humanism have all been repeatedly cited over the past three decades as valid reasons for including foreign culture in the foreign language class. The dissenters have been remarkably few.

Unanimity on the value of culture should not be allowed to obscure the fact that, for most language teachers, culture is still a serious issue. There are several reasons for this. First is the very immensity of the subject of culture, which multilingual anthropologists declare to be a superset of language and a yet more difficult problem to teach than is language itself (Triandis, 115). The second problem is the teacher's ever-decreasing amount of time with students as language requirements have been reduced over the last decade. Other difficulties are the lack of integrated materials, and the general lack of training in teaching culture. Faced with a numbing overchoice in which aspects of culture to teach, pressed to teach language in less time than seems humanly possible, and poorly assisted by his training and texts, the average language teacher has honored his commitment to culture erratically at best.

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However, the language teacher is hardly alone in this uneven performance in teaching culture. In the United States federal government, every department and twenty federal agencies now have significant responsibilities for foreign activities requiring crosscultural communication ability; nonetheless, appropriate training is seldom given. Similarly, multinational business has long given lip-service to the need for crosscultural training; yet when two large U.S. multinational organizations recently contracted to send a total of 2,500 specialists to Iran, their failure to provide any of the personnel with crosscultural training contributed to premature return rates of 50 percent for one firm and 85 percent for the other, at a cost of $55,000 per family (Feldman, 39).

A speedy end to this sort of culture-teaching shortfall is hardly to be expected, but recent publications do hold out some promise to the harried language teacher, indicating a growing consensus about goals and a rapidly growing body of pedagogical techniques and integrated materials.

This chapter will focus on the developments in the field that have occured since Nostrand's monumental review (91) and will list some directions researchers can take for further reading and development. The amount of culture-specific material is simply too great to be adequately covered here. Our focus is primarily on multicultural materials, with only occasional reference to culture-specific media involving interesting techniques or approaches. Testing of culture is covered in Chapter 9. The bulk of the literature surveyed is in the field of foreign language education, but some attempt has been made to sample current trends in social studies education, communications, and anthropology.

Objectives: What should our students learn about culture?

Educational objectives for teaching culture can be divided into cognitive (knowing), skill (doing), and affective (feeling) categories. Some would argue that all education should result in observable skill development, but this traditional three-part taxonomy seems useful for the present discussion.

The issue of cultural objectives is, as Nostrand (91) and many others have pointed out, so important that student wishes on the subject should be considered. Student participation in selection of course content and objectives has been reported as an important success factor by Klayman (70) and de Wright (27). Consultation to identify student desires certainly does not negate the professional's responsibility to carefully consider the possibilities and help students select priorities.

Cognitive objectives: Facts

The first issue to be considered is whether students should concentrate on the target culture or on generalities applicable to many cultures. In the past, language teachers viewed culture as the handmaid of their particular language (Kaulfers, 68) and therefore focused on the target culture. Although culture-specific information is still vitally necessary (Triandis, 115), there is a strong consensus developing that "etic" (multicultural, as in phon-etic) concepts must balance "emic" (unicultural, as in phon-emic) concepts (Brislin and Charles, 15). Harris and Harris (53) plausibly argue for a multicultural approach. Since one is likely to deal later with a wide variety of cultures, multicultural insights provide a framework which in turn facilitates subsequent learning of specifics. In the same vein, Jarvis (61) points out that specific data may not hold true across time and social strata. Another rationale for a multiculture emphasis is provided by developers of interdisciplinary culture courses preceding language instruction at the secondary and university levels (Bourque and Chehy, 13; Keller and Ferguson, 69). Designed primarily to interest students in language study, such introductory courses center on culture and language universals illustrated by specifics. They are reportedly successful in bringing about heightened awareness of language and appreciation for linguistic and cultural differences.

Multicultural concepts

It would seem, then, that multicultural generalities illustrated by target-culture specifics are the ideal. Periodic reference to the mother culture and to third or fourth cultures can help keep the discussion on a higher level of abstraction and avoid a supercilious, judgmental approach. The difficulty of teaching multicultural concepts lies in obtaining expert consensus on the generalities, for young fields such as anthropology, sociology, and crosscultural training are constantly in flux, and consensus on specifics is easier to find than agreement on basic postulates. However, several basic concepts do seem to be emerging as important for language professionals involved in teaching culture. These could be grouped under three broad headings: 1) structuralism, 2) intercultural differences, and 3) intracultural differences.

Structuralism is a term variously understood, but it usually denotes the philosophical point of view that phenomena can best be understood in terms of their own environment, their place as parts in a structural whole. Growing out of the concepts and methods of linguistics and claiming to provide a framework for any study of meaning (semiotics), structuralism is fundamentally opposed to existentialism, which takes an individualistic, subjective point of view. Full discussion of structuralism is beyond the scope of this review, but readers are referred to Barthes's (8) exposition of semiology, Eco's (32) overview of semiotics, and Leach's (74) introduction to the use of structuralism in anthropology as entries into the writings of the giants of our day who have influenced or are influenced by structuralism: anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss; linguists Ferdinand de Saussure, Roman Jakobson, and Noam Chomsky; literary critic Roland Barthes; psychologist Jean Piaget; philosopher Michel Foucault; economist Karl Marx, and many others.

Much more work remains to be done on the relevance of the structuralist (semiotic, semiologic) point of view for teaching culture in the foreign language class, but it appears that most writers in the field are consciously or unconsciously taking a structuralist stance: whether we define cultures as "ways of organizing human diversity" (Whiting, 121, p. 386) or as "communication systems" (Oliver, 95), we seem to have committed ourselves to a structuralist view. Beaujour and Ehrmann (9) long ago advocated semiotics as an approach. Seelye (105), pointing out that it is "intellectually satisfying to approach an understanding of complex phenomena (human actions) by process of deduction from a few major postulates or themes," advocates as a first goal of cultural instruction "the 'sense or functionality' of culturally conditioned behavior" (p. 36). Most writers agree with this view, advocating the teaching of role structures (Triandis, 115) and "emergent models" based upon value themes (Nostrand, 91). Epes (38) and Nostrand (91) have produced organized inventories for German and French culture, respectively. Brown (18) has discussed classroom applications of the semiotic concepts of denotation and connotation in relation to the iconic aspects of comic strips.

As mentioned above, all the implications of this point of view for the language teacher working with culture have not been fully elaborated, but at least two are obvious: 1) culture should be approached in a systematic way, not as a series of unrelated contrasts with the learner's own culture; 2) structures of value, status, role, and other functions exist in every culture, and communicative behavior can best be understood in relation to this underlying structure. As Whiting (121) puts it, the inscrutable natives are usually neither "mad nor bad," but are acting in a manner consistent with the structures of their own culturally conditioned systems. This focus on structure, on the internal logic of a cultural system and the interrelationship of its parts is hardly a new concept, but too many texts and teachers still approach culture in an *ad hoc*, unstructured, contrastive fashion.

The problem with a narrowly conceived structuralist view is its potential for a totally uncritical indoctrination, the substitution of the foreign world view for the native one. One has only to study the plight of eighteenth-century Russian Francophile nobility to sense the national and personal tragedy that cultural alienation brings. There is, however, no reason that students cannot study the foreign culture as an autonomous, meaningful system, but periodically pull back for contrastive and critical analysis. Another problem with structuralism, as some critics see it, is the fact that elaborate message systems other than language have yet to be discovered, and some charge that semiotic analysis will always remain more art than science (Petit, 96). Structuralism should probably be investigated and taught as a useful, but not infallible, tool in crossculture analysis.

Intercultural differences

The second multicultural concept area concerns the existence of intercultural differences. Incredible as it seems to language teachers, many educated American adults heading for overseas teaching assignments consider communication in the foreign language a problem that can be solved merely by raising one's voice and speaking slowly (Trifonovitch, 117). Given this monocultural naïveté, it is easy to understand how more subtle intercultural differences may be utterly invisible to many bright individuals. Having established the fact of structure in culture, we must convey what to us seems blatantly obvious: structures differ from culture to culture. Value systems, behavioral expectations, gestures—all the aspects Triandis (115) calls subjective culture—may differ from culture to culture as radically as language does. Students should become thoroughly aware of culture shock, its power, causes, and cures (acculturation) (Harris and Harris, 53).

Values and norms

There is a fairly solid consensus in the literature that differences in value themes (societal conceptions of good and evil) are the single most important crosscultural areas to be studied for mitigation of culture shock, with common behavioral norms (societal proprieties) a close second. Admitting that variations do exist within a culture, it is still very useful to know value and norm averages. Even stereotypes can be valuable if they are accurate and sufficiently detailed (Whiting, 120). Value themes have been proposed for French (Elliot, 36; Ladu, 73), Hispanic (de Wright, 27; Ladu 73) and Russian (Jarvis, 62) cultures. The worst problem connected with these compilations is that they are largely subjective. Empirical research would doubtless substantiate many of their conclusions and would be welcome. Great art, music, literature, and theater, or their popular and folk counterparts have all been advocated as focuses for teaching foreign culture, but it appears these should be used as means rather than ends if maximum crosscultural understanding is the goal. They can and should be used as memorable illustrations of societal values.

In-groups and out-groups

Writers in anthropology and crosscultural training have recently discussed two other powerful concepts useful in analyzing crosscultural differences: the in-group/out-group opposition and the modern/traditional man opposition.

The in-group/out-group opposition divides humanity by means of several criteria, chief of which appears to be trust. People trust and share with their in-group of the moment but not with the out-group. Every society and all but the smallest organizations have these divisions, and there is good evidence that perceptions are radically refracted across the in-group/out-group boundary to enhance the self-perception of each given in-group: each group seeks and maximizes differences which favor its own self-image; strange behavior is interpreted as bad rather than a product of a different value scheme (Brewer, 14). For instance, many churches, tribes, and clubs spend considerable effort in defining their own sometimes unique ideals and decrying those outsiders who do not live up to them.

In-group size varies widely across cultures, and according to Triandis (115), who summarized many studies on this subject, the most important element distinguishing modern man from traditional man is the size of his in-group. Modern man, or man in industrialized society, seems to have a larger in-group, a more optimistic and cosmopolitan perspective. Traditional man has a smaller in-group, a view of good as being limited, and very low faith in the out-group. However, it appears that traditional man's ties with his in-group, while more limited, are stronger, and his rather fatalistic outlook results in greater social stability: suicide, drinking, riots, and social disorganization are much rarer in traditional societies. The concepts of in-group and traditional man have considerable explanatory power for many of the differences confronting Americans sojourning even in the relatively advanced Latin American, Russian, Greek, Italian, and Japanese cultures, among others. Further research on in-groups for each of these cultures is needed, and we must of course be careful not to equate modern with good and traditional with bad, as much of "modern" society brings a very mixed blessing. Also, it would appear that the in-group concept is more complex than some researchers have seen it—a "modern" may trust his life into the hands of a famous, yet personally unknown surgeon, yet he might not trust that same man in matters of finance, morals, or politics. Apparently modern man's in-group ties become not only wider and more tenuous, but also more differentiated according to role. In any case, the concept still seems useful and deserving of further study.

Intracultural differences

A third multicultural content objective would concern the existence of intracultural differences (social cleavage). Examination of this aspect helps avoid a simplistic, static view of the target culture. Discussion of the status features, classes, and in-groups of one's own culture is highly advisable and can help sensitize students to synchronic (contemporary) differentiation in the target culture.

While Nostrand (91) has criticized Miller's (82, 83, 84) somewhat fragmented approach to culture contrasts, the latter's use of side-by-side generalizations about American and target culture phenomena inadvertently heightens awareness of *intracultural differences.* Some generalizations about American culture, while accurate for the average, will not hold true for the society as a whole; this fact alone, with some discussion, can help sensitize the student to variability within his own culture.

Brooks's (16, 17) plea to maintain a view of the unique individual should be mentioned here as a counterweight to the structuralist view: hardly anyone is average in all respects, and each real, whole person we can describe will help point up the existence of intracultural differences.

Some treatment of Snow's (111) thesis of the two worldwide cultures of scientists and humanists could also be useful here. Snow holds that scientists and humanists form separate cultures as different in values and world view as are many national ones. Pirsig (98) sees the problem as more than a simple dichotomy. "The range of human knowledge today is so great that we're all specialists and the distance between specializations has become so great that anyone who seeks to wander freely among them almost has to forego closeness with the people around him" (p. 131).

This view of fragmented society in one country is shared by Harris and Harris (53) and many others, who have pointed out that crosscultural training is needed for dealing with minorities in the U.S. every bit as urgently as it is needed for communicating across national boundaries. Indeed, there are some who posit the increase in intracultural differences with a simultaneous decrease in intercultural differences, a fracturing of each society at the same time as greater global homogeneity is occurring. Crosscultural communication skills may well grow in survival value as each society becomes increasingly pluralistic.

An emphasis on contemporary culture is in vogue in culture classes, yet some discussion of history would seem imperative to give a feeling for intracultural diachronic (chronological) change. Nostrand is very sensitive to this dynamism and hopes to portray it through his Emergent Model, focusing on sometimes conflicting values (Seelye, 103).

In summary, we have advocated teaching the multicultural concepts of 1) structuralism, 2) the existence of intercultural differences in values, norms, and in-groups, and 3) the existence of intracultural social cleavage and chronological change. These multicultural concepts can and should be illustrated by target-culture specifics wherever possible, plus specifics from American, and third and fourth cultures.

Process objectives: Skills

Perhaps an even more important concept than any of the above is the concept that no course or set of concepts can adequately prepare anyone for all target-culture situations (Trifonovitch, 117). Our students should develop process skills to continue learning on their own; two of these important crosscultural process skills are *communication* and *research.*

Communication skills

There is evidence from those heavily involved with everyday crosscultural problems "that crosscultural relations skills are more important than merely being able to speak an appropriate foreign language or having the cognitive knowledge gained from area studies" (Feldman, 39, p. 21). The latter are useful, perhaps even necessary, but are insufficient for effective crosscultural communication. Such communication seems to have, like the concept area, a general component and a culture-specific one. Let us discuss the general component first.

Students of communication tell us that the most serious barrier to communication is the illusion of its occurrence when it is not in fact occurring (Whiting, 121). One important skill for detecting and correcting miscommunication is the skill of "Rogerian listening," named after Carl Rogers and known variously as "reflective listening," and "active listening." Vigorously advocated for foreign language teachers by Disick and Barbanel (29) and Stevick (114), the technique involves the paraphrasing of a speaker's remarks by the listener for the former's confirmation of comprehension. Stevick wants people to learn to "understand," to simply listen and comprehend without interjecting their own feelings, attitudes, or associations. Gordon (50) has written popular books on the subject in which he describes how to open up communication with nonjudgmental, paraphrasing questions in order to get at underlying emotional states.

The Harvard Social Studies materials begin with this paraphrasing technique and continue toward the development of other good discussion practices, including 1) stating issues clearly, 2) pursuing issues with continuity, 3) making clear transitions, and 4) assessing relevance of comments (Newman and Oliver, 89; Oliver and Newman, 94). These Harvard materials, geared for the classroom, are very inexpensive and should be thoroughly investigated by foreign language teachers desiring to develop conversation class materials, whether they are centered on culture or not.

General communication skills must be supplemented by culture-specific ones. In addition to knowing foreign language basics, students should be skilled in both verbal and nonverbal responses required for various social situations (de Wright, 27), and they should be aware of the communicative value of various behaviors and gestures (Triandis, 115). Seelye (104) outlined many of these in his landmark 1970 article, listing just such performance objectives, and stressed them again in his recent text (Seelye, 105).

Brown (18) advocates helping students to develop skill in recognizing secondary (connotative) meanings through foreign comic strips, including those meanings conveyed via stylistic and paralinguistic devices (gestures, dress, etc.). Morain (86) also favors at least the recognition skill in kinesics (body language) plus some of the connotative meanings of environmental features (mountains, trees) and man-made objects (black armbands, horseshoes, etc.).

Research skills

In addition to communication skills, Jenks (63) and Seelye (105) reflect Nostrand's (92) earlier advocacy of cultural research skills for foreign language students. Jenks (63) and Seelye (105) convincingly point out the broadly applicable value of critical thinking and problem-solving skills developed by a research emphasis. Similarly, Fenton (40) and other leading social-studies methodologists, have long stressed the value of inquiry skills: hypothesis formation, data collection, and inductive reasoning. Both Jenks and Seelye advocate the teaching of library skills; they are joined by Gordon (48) in recommending interview and other primary research skills as well.

In summary, we have found a consensus strongly favoring process skills for communication and research. Both general and culture-specific communication skills are needed as are primary and bibliographic research skills.

Affective objectives: Feelings

Those most involved with extensive crosscultural training are the ones most concerned about the affective dimension. Feldman reports that cognitive knowledge seems to have little effect in changing behavior toward crosscultural effectiveness (Feldman, 39). Trifonovitch (117) agrees, having built his training programs on the principle of getting to the affective dimension first, and then relying for further absorption on the cognitive level. For instance, rather than first intellectualize about taboos, he would shock adult American educators heading for South Pacific island assignments by having a native staff member break an American taboo (e.g., topless dress), then have participants discuss their agitation. That done, he would draw an analogy to a local taboo that American women were breaking (thigh display with shorts).

In addition to this use of the affective domain in the service of cognitive goals, the literature suggests two other dimensions: 1) values which all students should develop for crosscultural effectiveness, and 2) personal value clarification skills. Among the various values which writers like to see developed in all students, three seem foremost: empathy, flexibility and curiosity.

Empathy

The habit of an empathetic view, of "trying to see things the other person's way" is, as William Marquardt has said, surely the "most relevant magic in our day" (Seelye, 105, p. 74). There is distressing evidence of bigotry among young people in general (Arsenault, 6) and among our foreign language students in particular (Joiner, 64). Whiting (120) defines the crossculturally empathetic individual as one who 1) is perceptive of subtle differences, 2) withholds judgment, 3) is good at making inferences, 4) tests his inferences, 5) suspects miscommunication rather than "badness" or "madness," 6) tries to use advice procured from a native, and 7) brings his predispositions under scrutiny (pp. 48–53). Anyone who meets these standards would doubtless be closer to sainthood than most of us can hope to come, but even slight enlargement of students' in-groups and their occasional willingness to see things as others see them is worth working for.

As an item of curiosity, it is a challenging test of one's own empathy to study a dissenting view on the question in this prescription for language teacher educators in the People's Republic of China: "Foreign language departments in socialist universities should train foreign language personnel to propagate Marxist-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought, to support world revolution and to consolidate the proletarian dictatorship" (Magner, 77). Magner reports that many of the English-speaking Chinese he talked with seemed solicitous, but as badly boxed in by their world view as the above suggests. For instance, his Chinese guide, to break a long silence, once turned to him and, apropos of nothing, asked, "Did you know that Lin Piao was an out-and-out disciple of Confucius?" Such instances were fairly common and in a sense humorous, but hardly conducive to what is usually thought of as communication.

Flexibility

Close, but not identical to empathy is flexibility, which could be thought of as the active result of empathy. There is evidence from research with Peace Corps personnel that flexibility, a willingness to be changed as well as to change others, is more important than language skill, knowledge of culture, and even empathy (Whiting, 121). Certainly communication is enhanced if each is seen by the other as willing to sacrifice a bit. Once this trust is established, more than mere communication can occur.

Seelye (105) and Trifonovitch (117) both strongly advocate development of curiosity as a worthy attitude to cultivate in students. Successful experiences in the training program are felt to be both intrinsically valuable and conducive to the development of curiosity (Disick and Barbanel, 29; Trifonovitch, 117).

Values-clarification skills, the ability to choose and hold personal values, are felt to be not only beneficial to personal development (Disick and Barbanel, 29) but important for crosscultural awareness. The Latin American Studies Association lists this as one of the five important skills (Casteel and Williford, 23), and Whiting (121) sees "a firm sense of identity and a stable core of preferences" as essential for a good communicator (p. 385).

To summarize, we have found that specialists stress the affective dimension in developing crosscultural effectiveness. Empathy, flexibility, and curiosity are values advocated for all students to develop, as well as personal values-clarification skills.

Methods: What are the best ways to teach culture?

Integration into foreign language materials

The first issue in crosscultural education methodology is the degree to which cultural information should be integrated into language materials. The overwhelming majority of writers favor total integration, but some emphasize the value of separate materials for special culture classes, usually taught in English. The concepts are not of course mutually exclusive, but there are sound arguments both for the separation of culture from language materials and for their total integration.

Elliot (36, p. 50) favors the integration of culture, since, as French politician Edouard Herriot said, "*La culture, c'est ce qu'il reste quand on a tout oublié*" (Culture is what remains when one has forgotten everything else), and culture may indeed be remembered in usable form much longer than the language itself. Di Pietro (28) sees culture as a vital aspect of desirable communicative competence aims, and Kostomarov and Vereščagin (71) defend integration of culture as necessary in order to insure variety of content for effective pedagogy and to make maximal use of instructional time. Chabert (24) suggests culture courses in the language as a meaningful alternative to literature courses for students who do desire to continue further language study.

Concerning how culture should be integrated, Seelye (105) argues that distinctive cultural meanings of lexical items should be vigorously incorporated and discussed from the first. Kostomarov and Vereščagin (71) agree with this focus and have coined the term *linguocultural studies* (*lingvostranovedenie*) to denote the concentration on only those cultural problems which are reflected in lexical elements. They have proposed a *linguocultural dictionary* for Russian as a background reference source for this sort of information. The attempt is unquestionably laudable, but the number of potential entries seems enormous. Gerhart (44) has already produced a unique lexically oriented culture text for Russian culture. Jarvis (62) has advocated incorporation of culture into textual readings, dialogues, and drill materials. Gonzalez (46) concurs, adding that proverbs and songs should be included, together with information on how, when, and where they are used. Santoni (102) has developed a plan for an "interrelated system" of language and culture, beginning each unit with reading material, continuing with structured role-playing and ending with a less-structured simulation activity. Joiner (64), centering on the text as the single most influential "culture bearer" besides the teacher, has developed a useful form for the evaluation of the cultural content of texts. The form helps evaluate texts according to such descriptive categories as "historical versus contemporary," "representative versus selective," "formal versus informal," and "positive versus negative."

Nearly every text produced in the last decade has claimed to incorporate culture, but few demonstrate the quality and quantity of integrated cultural material present in Valette and Valette's (119) text *Contacts: Langue et Culture Françaises.* Not only is culture consciously presented in dialogues, reading selections, and illustrations, but conflicting points of view are presented in sections called "Instantané." Finally, role-playing plus values-clarification activities are structured in connection with each lesson's linguistic elements. E.M.C. has also produced excellent integrated materials for French, German, and Spanish classes (31), as has André Paquette Associates for French culture (3).

Considerable interest has recently been shown in the separate presentation of culture. Lewald (75) has found it efficient and stimulating to have French and Spanish students meet together once a week for discussion in English of basic multicultural concepts. Bourque and Chehy (13), Keller and Ferguson (69), and Klayman (70) report that secondary and college pre-language culture courses using team teaching approaches and stressing basic concepts have been successful in attracting students and introducing them to language study. Jackson and Hatton (58) defend interim courses taught in English and concentrating on culture specifics such as a bullfight, as being viable alternatives to the traditional foreign language fair in attracting students and creating a festive aura connected with language study. Opening up the course to non-foreign language students and having a maximum number of participation events and publicity are seen as important success ingredients. A folklore and arts course taught in English as an alternative to advanced language reading is reported by de Cid and Smith (25) as resulting in statistically insignificant, but directionally consistent attitude changes away from ethnocentrism.

Kalfus (67) describes an ambitious HEW-funded Intercultural Communications Project intended to infuse international perspectives into general education at the undergraduate level. Through this project, the foreign language department at a small community college greatly increased its visibility and prestige by establishing new interdisciplinary courses ("Foreign Films," "Cultural Patterns in Spanish Art") and by organizing a well-publicized weekly lecture-demonstration series. Again publicity was considered crucial, as was coordination, and use of outside speakers.

Probably the strongest reasons for separating culture from language stem from the fact that it is easier to achieve a consensus on linguistic concepts than on cultural ones: it is not always easy to study emotionally sensitive areas such as values in a detached and objective fashion, and crosscultural consensus on many aspects of a given culture is frequently difficult to achieve. Developing nations are quick to perceive "cultural imperialism" in English-as-a-second-language materials presenting American culture as Americans see it. Soviet-produced materials, presenting the official view of Soviet culture, are nearly always seen as harmful propaganda by Americans. Even though Americans may find amusing the ideological content of language practice in the People's Republic of China—"Long live Chairman Mao! Workers of all country [*sic*], unite! Hello Jane. How do you do?" (Magner, 77)—it must be admitted that the foreign language teachers there are not interested in imposing a double burden of language plus a whole new world view on their beginning students. Perhaps one solution might be a mix of foreign and domestically produced foreign language materials, a practice commonly followed in the West at the college level but seldom in Communist-bloc countries, ostensibly because of balance-of-payment problems. Efforts to improve the balance of foreign and domestic foreign language materials deserve the support of those interested in crosscultural understanding—they could be of potentially greater impact than present cultural exchanges.

Expository techniques

Despite warnings that lectures are dismally ineffective for crosscultural training (Feldman, 39; Horan, 54; Trifonovitch, 117) they are still a mainstay of academic teaching about culture, especially in separate culture classes taught in English (Bourque and Chehy, 13; de Cid and Smith, 25; Keller and Ferguson, 69; Klayman, 70; Lewald, 75). A more defensible method would involve the use of natives of the target culture. Nishi (90) has proposed the "Ogontz Plan," which makes regular use of university-based foreign students to lecture and participate in discussions on a paid basis, thereby enriching social studies and perhaps foreign language courses. School district loyalty oaths required of all paid teaching staff are seen as a problem in this arrangement at the secondary level. Probably lectures are most effectively used as one component in an integrated multimethod approach. Lectures preceded and followed by activities geared to a high level of involvement could help relieve the heavy message load of the lecture.

Culture capsules

The culture capsule and culture cluster, well-prepared multimedia minilectures and lecture-series respectively, have been critically reviewed by Nostrand (93). The current thinking favors grouping culture capsules into meaningful units and accompanying and following them with student feedback and high-involvement activities (Jarvis, 62). Many of the written culture capsules found in contemporary foreign language texts would be improved with more follow-up involvement and better integration with the rest of the chapter. Excellent examples of culture capsules and instruction on making them are found in Seelye's authoritative and helpful text (105). Arendt (5) reports that the Minneapolis public schools have assembled a number of culture-based slide units for local sharing, a worthwhile activity for other foreign language staffs to promote and maintain. Allen (1) and Arendt (5) suggest that fresh and authentic audio and video recordings of target-culture popular songs, street noises, and conversations be utilized as display bases for this sort of presentation. Brown (18) urges extensive use of comic strips as "polysemiotic" presentation materials conducive to the study of primary (denotative) and secondary (connotative) cultural information that is "involuntarily encoded" by the foreign cartoonist. Morain (86) suggests teacher- and student-made cartoons ("cultoons") illustrating visual points of cultural contrast.

The Latin American Studies Association (Casteel and Williford, 23) has performed an inestimable service by producing practical and comprehensible specifications for the design of thirty-three crosscultural learning activities. Grouping their activities under five main process goals, the ninety-eight highly qualified participants developed imaginative schema such as the following, which is outlined under the heading "Information Processing," "Stereotypic Activities":

I Display

  1 A cartoon presenting a stereotype of member of region, ... and displayed as an overhead transparency

  2 A rapid order display of ten to fifteen photographs ... of persons within the region ...

  3 A rapid order display of verbal interactions about an event or issue by members of a region ... presented by audio-cassette recording

II Questions that students use in order to:

  1 List data consistent with the stereotype and

  2 [List data] inconsistent with it

  3 Consider the human consequences of the stereotype

III Lesson closure that includes:

  1 A review of how the stereotype is maintained

2 A review of data inconsistent with the stereotype

3 An indication of the potentially harmful effects of the stereotype

Foreign language educators would do well to study the above specifications and produce cultural materials based on them. Professional development time and money could profitably be spent on collecting and preparing such resources for publication, as Allen (1) suggests. Far too much professional development funding has gone into arcane research of minimal value to the vast majority of our foreign language students.

Large numbers of slides, filmstrips, and other resources appropriate for presenting culture concepts are already commercially available through firms such as the Social Studies School Service (112) and Encore Visual Education (37), among others. Miller and others (82, 83, 84) have produced contrastive capsules for several cultures. Printed materials that could serve as the basis of culture capsules are available from the Brigham Young University Language and Intercultural Research Center (21).

"Critical incidents" methods

"Critical incidents" techniques designed by social psychologists in the late 1960s make use of episodes involving crosscultural encounters which might be misinterpreted by the naïve foreigner. After reading the episode or seeing a dramatization of it, the student is encouraged to evaluate the meaning of the natives' actions—were they purposely being rude, are they acting lazy or what? After the student makes a choice, that choice is evaluated and explained, or else further information is given in some way that makes the correct answer clear. Self-instructional critical incidents materials have been prepared by the University of Illinois Department of Psychology and are known as "culture assimilators," while critical incident dramatizations published by Antioch College sociologist Raymond L. Gordon (47) and others, are known as "cultural mini-dramas." They are both immediately appealing and apparently effective (Seelye, 105). Seelye reports that assimilators have been prepared for the Arab countries, Iran, Thailand, Central America, and Greece. He provides examples of French, German, and English-as-a-second-language mini-dramas (p. 94–99). A self-instructional text for general intercultural communicating is also available (*Intercultural Communicating*, 57).

Right-answer games

Jarvis (61) has described several nonsimulation, right-answer games that can be used in teaching aspects of culture, specifically etiquette. *Sovieti-*

quette (Jarvis, 60) centers on problems in social proprieties for Russian culture and is a multiple-choice quiz game. The student picks a category, hears the question read by the official, then chooses an answer. The official then reads the correct answer together with an explanation. A Hispanic version of *Sovietiquette* has been developed by Madaras and McMillan (76) and is available through ERIC. *Tactword* is a small-group game like "Fish" which involves matching pairs of cards with native language/target language equivalents. Bingo and Lotto can also be adapted to teaching culture. Students try to identify gestures, road signs, etc., printed on the cards, when the official calls out their verbal equivalents. Ticktacktoe can be adapted for classroom activity using stimuli such as questions or mother-tongue equivalents written on ticktacktoe diagram spaces under numbered pieces of paper. Participants choose the number of the square, the teacher removes the paper, reads the stimulus, and students try to respond. All of these games can be adapted to small-group or individual use.

Jorstad (66) has suggested gamelike activities involving foreign language newspapers: matching headlines with lead paragraphs, matching questions and answers in advice columns, and index races. Games for teaching culture are available from the following distributors: Arteric International, P.O. Box 14011, University Station, Minneapolis, Minn. 55414; Gessler Publishing Co., Inc., 220 E. 23rd St., New York, NY 10010; Goldsmith's Audio Visuals, 301 East Shore Rd., Great Neck, NY 11023.

Other presentation activities

Carlile (22) has published an elaborate self-instructional unit entitled "Riding the Metro." Containing maps, realia, and directional signs, the unit is designed to teach a process skill: competence in actually using the Paris Metro.

Buffington (20), de Wright (27) and Ellison (88) have recently developed teleseries of broadcast quality for Russian and Hispanic culture. Such series are useful both as presentation devices and as foreign language and culture interest-raisers in the community at large.

Inductive techniques: Helping students think for themselves

Social studies educators have long felt the value of inductive strategies—those techniques that encourage hypothesis formation, data gathering, evaluation, generalization, and application rather than mere memorization of predigested facts or concepts: "There exists nearly unanimous professional opinion that secondary social science teachers must develop more effective instructional strategies for introducing the skills of *critical analysis* to the consideration of subject matter topics for the purpose of improving students' ability to apply the *inquiry method* and reflect upon social issues in a relative rather than purely descriptive context" (Anderson, 2, p. 25). In foreign language education, Jenks (63) has been a leading advocate of student inquiry and research, feeling that a main goal of American education is to teach students to think. As mentioned in our earlier discussion, there is evidence that the application of inductive skills is an important part of empathy (Whiting, 120). Those most involved with practical crosscultural training of adults are the most apt to use high-involvement inductive techniques (Feldman, 39; Harris and Harris, 53; Horan, 54; Trifonovitch, 117). Inductive techniques can be grouped into categories of inquiry, discussion, and acting.

Inquiry

Inquiry techniques can be classified along a continuum beginning with highly structured activities and ending with unstructured primary research.

At the structured end of the continuum we find such activities as McCord and Manning's (79) language-camp beginner's activities involving the working of train schedules, and Jarvis' (61) use of cartoons depicting *faux pas.* After seeing the latter, students have to ask questions of the teacher in order to answer the question, "What's wrong here?" Jenks (63) suggests beginning with problem-solving activities on leisure, cuisine, and demography, such as the following: "Assuming that you were a French teenager living with your parents in Lyon, during what month would you be most likely to go on a vacation to the 'mountains'?" Several writers have recently suggested inquiry activities using foreign language newspapers and magazines. Jorstad (66) warns that foreign language periodicals are difficult for the beginner to understand and require preparation, such as highlighting simple words that carry most of the meaning in an advertisement or story. She suggests a number of intriguing activities: have students make up a dummy front page for an American and a foreign newspaper and compare the dimensions of lead articles placement, story length, use of pictures, opinion, and so forth. She also recommends questions designed to discern their intended audiences. James and Lange (59) have proposed similar activities. Blice (12) recommends that students guess cartoon captions and hold debates based on lead articles. Morain (85) recommends having students make up their own "cultoons" (cartoons depicting a culture point). Similarly, Morain recently had foreign language teachers prepare 1) lists of nonverbal signals, 2) in-group/out-group slurs, 3) a culture assimilator, and 4) a mini-drama (Eddy, 33). Perhaps students could be given similar assignments. The Latin American Studies Association list (Casteel and Williford, 23) suggests specifications for many excellent structured, inductive activities. McCord and Manning (79) have used more demanding language-camp inquiry problems such as learning how to find and rent a room, and coping with an educational bureaucracy.

Jenks (63) defends primary sociocultural interview-type research on the grounds that it develops research skills, uses the foreign language for a useful purpose, and adds to the scarce stock of crosscultural data. He recommends passive "observational checklists" on dress, bargaining, and other topics to sharpen observational skills in less linguistically secure students. Jenks has developed questionnaires to be administered by students to classmates or, as part of a study abroad program, to target-culture natives. Results can be tabulated and then compared to known target-culture studies on subjects such as "Mexican Womanhood: Roles and Characteristics." Perhaps in the wake of recent interest in personal history, students might gather oral histories of local immigrants, using prepared questions, tape recorders, and film (Arsenault, 6).

Discussion

Discussion is a method widely used by professional crosscultural trainers. Harris and Harris (53) advocate group techniques, as does Horan (54), who uses large, small, and mini-groups for various purposes. She finds heterogeneous mini-groups containing target-culture natives effective in raising trust and improving attitudes about the target culture. Trifonovitch (117) relies on "learning from people rather than from paper" and uses discussion to follow demonstrations, observation, and simulation. As has already been mentioned, he first shocks Americans by breaking one of their own cultural taboos, then allows them to discuss their feelings and builds an analogy to help them understand the native's feelings when *their* taboos were broken. This initial focus on American culture is also seen in discussions in which Americans ask about other native customs—the native staff members frequently turn the question back to the Americans to get them intellectualizing about their own culture first. This method would seem to be valuable in helping participants understand the concept of intracultural differences and some of the tentativeness required when generalizing about a complex culture. Texts such as Huvos and Keating's (56) compilation of French authors' observations about American culture can serve as stimulating points of departure for discussion.

Social studies educators have long favored discussion both as a teaching method and as a process skill valuable in itself. Newman and Oliver (89) use a Socratic approach to values and issues clarification, advocating the wise use of analogy to broaden views. As mentioned in reference to process goals, the Harvard social studies materials include publications and techniques designed to develop disciplined problem-solving discussion practices (Oliver and Newman, 94). They include a booklet containing examples of good and poor discussion practices for analysis. Anderson (2) recommends that each major topic presentation be followed by either spontaneous unstructured debate or group assignments to discuss and apply the scientific method to research on the topic. He also recommends following simulation with discussion.

Foreign language educators have also advocated discussion after lectures (de Cid and Smith, 25; Jarvis, 62; Nishi, 90). A main key to good discussion is helping students learn to ask questions which induce higher levels of thinking (Seelye, 105): "Judging from these clippings, what is the principal function of 'funerales'?"

Pen pals and twinned classrooms can be thought of as long-distance discussion techniques. The twinned classroom approach, first described by Jonas (65), involves pairing with a classroom in the target culture for continued exchange of slides, recorded materials, and letters. Little has been reported recently concerning these important avenues of contemporary information and communication, but they deserve continued exploitation and investigation.

There are numerous texts available which outline strategies for values clarification. Simon, Howe, and Kirschenbaum (110) have outlined seventy-nine different strategies for values clarification, including values voting, Rogerian listening, epitaph composition, and "clothes and values." Almost all are effective for discussion stimulation and evaluation of personal values, and the latter seems useful for emphasizing American semiotics of clothes. Some values-clarification activities seem of questionable purpose and an irritating invasion of privacy, so caution is in order. Valette and Valette's (119) text contains some excellent sections ("Vous avez la parole" and "Questions personnelles") which encourage question formulation, values-voting activities, and choice defense, almost all of which can be used in discussion activities.

Dramatizations and simulations

Dramatizations would seem to have significant potential for inducing empathy for the bearers of the target culture as whole individuals and not as mere statistics. Gianetti (45) has reported a culture course stressing Spanish masterpieces of art, music, and drama. He lists four Spanish plays that have proved popular with advanced students.

Role-playing is frequently advocated in the literature (Elliot, 36; Jarvis, 61; McCord and Manning, 79; Santoni, 102) to develop sensitivity to cultural differences and to the feelings of others. Jarvis (61) has described successful role-playing as dependent on the selection of two or more imaginative students and their separate instruction to establish opposing mental sets. The class can be divided in half; each half is assigned to take the part of one actor as a "critical incident" confrontation is played out. Actors' and classmembers' feelings should be discussed after the confrontation.

Simulation, along with discussion, plays a key role in professional crosscultural training, and is also highly recommended by social studies methodologists. Anderson (2) describes simulation as "highly motivational if some structure is provided. Students become actively involved in the decision-making process by simulating the actual responsibilities and reactions of the individuals . . . " (pp. 29–30). Of course, one of the main values of any simulation is the opportunity it gives students to practice their skills with a sense of stimulating but tolerable risk.

Simulation can be fairly unstructured, such as Jorstad's (66) suggestion that each student be given a sum of money to spend on items advertised in foreign newspapers, or it can be fairly complex and sophisticated. *Rafa-Rafa* is a commercially available crosscultural simulation game involving a work-oriented noncontact ("modern?") culture A and a play-oriented contact ("traditional?") culture B. Students are assigned to one of the two cultures and then are introduced to the values and norms of their "own" culture via a cassette. They are then sent to visit the other culture. Culture shock is inevitable, as the values are opposite and each culture is reluctant to explain its norms (Shirts, 108). A more complex version of the game, called *Bafa-Bafa*, is also available (107).

Simulations of the French Revolution (*Liberté*), the Spanish American War (*Destiny*), autocracy (*Czar Power*), and the cold war (*The Game of Brinkmanship*) are available from Social Studies School Service (112), while Simile II offers, in addition to *Bafa-Bafa* and *Rafa-Rafa*, *Import*, an elementary-school-level simulation of the activities of six importing firms in various ports around the world, plus a game called *Explorers 2* which concerns the discovery and exploration of South America (109). Edu-Game offers an inexpensive simulation on the Spanish-American War (35). More simulations dealing with subjective culture would be welcome.

Research: Sources for further study

Sources of bibliography for this review include an interactive computerized DIALOG system search of the files of *Current Index to Journals in Education* (CIJE), *Education Resources Information Centers* (ERIC), *Psychological Abstracts*, *Social Science Citation Index* (SSCI), and *Sociological Abstracts*. Descriptors used were: INTERCULTURAL, CROSSCULTURAL, CULTURAL, CULTURE plus TRAINING, PROGRAMS, MATERIALS, TEACHING METHODS. INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION is another descriptor that could be used if one prefers more area studies and culture-specific information.

Other important bibliographies available include Seelye and Tyler's (106) recent ninety-page compilation, Chapter Ten in Seelye's (105) text, Reboullet's (99) bibliography on French Civilization, and the 1974 ACTFL Bibliography (Benseler, 11).

A large selection of audiovisual aids and games are available through Social Studies School Service (112), while Simile II lists many simulation games (109). Other foreign language games are available from the addresses listed in the section "Right-Answer Games."

The Society for Intercultural Education Training and Research (SIETAR) is currently collecting materials for a state-of-the-art publication, and deserves the continued interest of researchers desiring an interdisciplinary view: the current director is David S. Hoopes, 107 MIB, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15213.

Summary and recommendations

The literature surveyed indicates the continued high interest of foreign language teachers in culture, an emerging loose consensus on goals, and an increase in commercially available, integrated, and supplementary materials for the foreign language class.

1 In the area of cognitive learning objectives, authors stress generalities applicable to many cultures, illustrated by target-culture specifics. The subjective aspects (values and norms) of contemporary culture are emphasized as most powerfully explanatory. In the area of process (skill) objectives, research and face-to-face communication skills are emphasized. Affective objectives include the acquisition of empathy, curiosity, and flexibility, plus skill in clarifying one's own stable core of values.

2 The number and quality of culture materials integrated into beginning texts is increasing, even as interest is increasing in offering culture classes previous to, during, or following foreign language study.

3 Lectures are still used far too frequently, despite indications of their inefficiency in developing crosscultural effectiveness. Presentation techniques should include more well-prepared and grouped multimedia presentations together with high-involvement techniques such as "critical incident" self-instructional materials, mini-dramas, and games. Inductive methods important for developing process and affective skills include discussion, research, dramatization, and simulation approaches. The demand for quality materials employing the above techniques will exceed the supply for many years, and professional development efforts could be well spent in filling this demand.

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Teacher education for a changing world

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Introduction: a changing world

Let there be no mistake. We are changing. We are evolving. We are becoming. The signs are all around us. We have entered a new age, our third century as the United States of America. We have all seen the end of an era with the closing of our two-hundredth year on the Fourth of July. The year of 1976 was one long New Year's Eve celebration. The pollsters and the prophets, the penniless and the powerful have all been dutifully interviewed and quoted in *Time* and *Newsweek* about what *it* has meant to them. *It?* Our very own national rite of passage—the American Bicentennial. And as we have all passed through this year of reflection and discovery, many of us have reached at least one undeniable conclusion: all contemporary societies and cultures are linked by bonds of mutual dependence. Let us explore this notion of an evolving interdependent society and see how we teacher educators are responding to it.

Global interdependence and foreign language teaching

What does the changing world mean to us in the field of education? We are charged with the difficult responsibility of training the children and young people of today for an adulthood in a world which we cannot know. This

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responsibility is not unique; teachers of all times have had to educate their students for an unknown future. But we do not educate from ignorance. We have learned through our own training and experience to read the signs, to prognosticate as we prepare our daily lesson plans. The signs are propitious for us right now, particularly for those of us in the field of foreign language education.

This shrinking, interdependent world is probably the chief sign that we must recognize *today* as we teach the adults of *tomorrow.* Without denigrating or refusing to acknowledge our national accomplishments in the artistic, cultural, political, and scientific arenas, we must begin to emphasize in our teaching *individual* efforts—those of my German great-grandfather fifty years ago, those of a Japanese surgeon in Tokyo today, and those of the president in meeting a global crisis tomorrow. We must also underscore how similar our individual problems, aspirations, and tasks are to those of people around the world. We are all trying to discover new sources of energy, to rid the earth of man-made pollutants, and to find cures for heart disease and cancer. Young people the world over are concerned about the same issues: Should I go to college? Why don't my parents understand me? What's wrong with using drugs? Do I really want to be a farmer like my father? We must show our students that individual nations can no longer remain apart from one another. We need the expertise and cooperation of the Soviet Union in our space efforts, just as it needs ours. We need the transportation capabilities of the British-French Concorde, within acceptable limits of air and noise pollution. We need German and Japanese investments to pump up our still sagging economy and to put our trade balance in better equilibrium. Hayden's recent study (27) on federal funding of international education and language programs supports these conclusions.

What are the personal implications of all these signs for the foreign language teacher? First, we must develop in ourselves and instill in our students a positive and constructive attitude toward the teaching and learning of foreign languages. We must feel the value of the subject matter we teach. Our students must appreciate the advantages—if not the necessity—of losing their monolingual outlook. They must realize that in the future their cultural enjoyment (films, plays, opera, novels, poems, and music), knowledge of scientific and social phenomena, and expanded career opportunities (in agriculture, marketing, production, health, leisure, and education) will depend on their expertise in one or more foreign languages.

Second, we must explore every way of training our students to become world citizens; we must educate for global interdependence (13). We must recognize and enhance in our national heritage and culture those elements which link us to the rest of the world. Our efforts in bilingual/bicultural education must be intensified to give the monolingual/monocultural child the clearest example of global interdependence right here at home. (The Cuban-American child will teach his or her schoolmate what it is to have *two* languages, *two* cultures, *two* heritages.) These efforts must be expanded for the good of that Cuban-, Puerto Rican-, or Vietnamese- American child also, so that he or she does not lose those individual differences which are a source of pride.

We must also teach the cultural distinctions of *all* our global neighbors, not just those who happen to be represented by large minorities in this country. Even as we are teaching the *differences* that exist, we and our students will certainly recognize the *similarities* among all peoples. Further, we should take steps to prepare our students for global careers. A would-be farmer may study at an agricultural school in Mexico, an accountant may be hired by the American branch of a German firm, or a secretary may travel to a conference in Madrid. In today's world, these career responsibilities would, in all likelihood, not require the use of a foreign language or even an understanding of the foreign culture to which these individuals are exposed since English has been the accepted lingua franca in most fields. But our world is changing, and international careers (growing in number) will require expertise in foreign languages and cultures.

How will foreign language teachers meet the challenges of preparing students for this world of global interdependence? They must be and become much more knowledgeable, capable, effective, and imaginative than they already are. The students who take our courses in the future will do so not because their Aunt Sarah studied French in high school, or because German is the only class they can take at 10 A.M., or because Spanish is required. They will seek our courses because they want to learn how to communicate with people of different languages and cultures. To prepare the next generation of students, foreign language teachers must have greater competency in language skills, a competency attested to by impartial measurement, not simply by completion of certification requirements. They must have understanding and knowledge of the culture and people whose language they are teaching; foreign residency of some length should probably be a requirement. The foreign language teachers of the future must be well-trained in effective methodology; their good teaching results, of course, in a measurable product—the success of their students in academic and career achievements. Finally, they must become more creative and imaginative in their teaching, anticipating students' future needs as well as present ones. Using the whole range of audiovisual aids and realia, making a strong link between the classroom and the global environment, enhancing cultural and linguistic resources within the student and his community, and preparing young people for new careers in a changing world—these are among the most important tasks that the foreign language teacher must accomplish in the very near future.

What have we discovered thus far in our overview? We have determined that our world is changing, making nations and peoples more interdependent, more closely allied in their goals, problems, and solutions. We have also projected a changing student for this evolving world, one who is aware of the global connection and who will require ever greater familiarity with foreign cultures and languages to participate in the world community. And finally, we have envisioned a changing foreign language teacher, a highly competent, creative educator who is willing and able to prepare today's students for the greater demands of tomorrow.

The focus of our discussion has now reached the heart of this chapter's topic. How do we *presently* train foreign language teachers for the new and rapidly changing tasks we have outlined in this introduction?

To answer this question let us review the current state of teacher education to compare what we are doing now with our predictions of future needs. Once we have determined the present status of foreign language teacher training, we can then offer advice and suggestions to teacher educators, supervisors, department chairpersons, and teachers themselves as to changes in their curricula, methods, and requirements. Our ultimate goal is, of course, to aid those in important positions to better prepare the teachers of the future. Let us begin by examining the much-discussed phenomenon of education in the 1970s, Competency-Based Teacher Education (CBTE).

Competency-based teacher education

The concept of accountability has entered the programs, planning, and everyday activities of American education with such pervasiveness that it is no longer regarded as a hot-off-the-press innovation or a fearsome invasion of our professional sanctity by parents, legislators, and administrators. As in other areas, the consuming public (parents and children) has asserted its rights and its responsibility for examining the products of the educational process; they are holding us accountable for *what* we teach and *how* we claim to teach. More and more the consumer is rejecting "defective" products and returning them to the system. Recent challenges by high school and college graduates as to the quality of their diplomas are apt examples of consumerism. The demand to return to the "basics" in elementary education and to raise high school graduation requirements is part of the growing activism of our consumers, as exemplified by the 1976 Florida Legislature's raising of the required reading level to eighth-grade competency for high school seniors receiving a diploma.

Just as parents and lawmakers are requiring children to be promoted only when they have learned the prescribed material, a number of states have studied the certification of the teachers themselves, by asking the question: Does teacher certification result from a kind of "social promotion" at colleges and universities? Consequently new requirements for certification have been instituted in some states—Florida, New York, and Pennsylvania among others. Teacher training institutions in these states have developed a system of competency- (or performance-) based teacher education. Discussions of the competencies and their absorption into teacher training programs are offered by Glick et al. (21), Hall and Jones (26), Kay (34), and Travers (65). In the area of foreign language education, work has been carried out in the last few years to integrate CBTE into existing programs and to upgrade the performance of graduates. Among those who have laid the foundation for this area are Gish (20) in German teacher preparation, Herold (28) in performance evaluation, and Palmer (45) in bilingual/bicultural education.

What is good teaching?

The assumption made by both the public and the professionals is that we already know which competencies are necessary to produce the superior teachers that we expect to be teaching in our schools. However, research has been carried out only recently to determine for the field of foreign language education what kind of performance we should expect of teachers. Moskowitz (42) has conducted a research project to discover what competencies are necessary and advises great caution in accepting those already demanded by certain states simply because some educators *believed* them to be required. She states that a conservative approach to CBTE must be followed, an approach which includes two kinds of research. First, we must determine what students should *learn*, *know*, and *do*. Then we can speculate about which competencies are necessary to produce this result, field test the competencies, and evaluate the findings. Secondly, we must study master teachers to find out what skills make them so effective. Moskowitz has concentrated on the second type of research.

The procedures used by Moskowitz consisted of three phases:

> *Phase I* First, foreign language pre- and in-service teachers were asked to list specific qualities of outstanding teachers with whom they had studied. Second, administrators, coordinators, and department heads listed characteristics outstanding foreign language teachers *should* possess. This information produced a list of 110 commonly mentioned items.
>
> *Phase II* Foreign language administrators, pre- and in-service teachers, and students gave a numeric evaluation (on a scale of 1–5) to each of the 110 items. Eventually, 36 items were chosen to represent the highest-rated characteristics by all groups.
>
> *Phase III* Ratings by undergraduate and graduate students of characteristics of the outstanding and poor high-school foreign language teachers whom they had known were used to discriminate between these two groups.

Moskowitz discovered a number of important characteristics of outstanding foreign language teachers as a result of her study. The outstanding teachers (from Phase III) possessed many more of the desirable 36 characteristics than the poor teachers. A sample of the characteristics shows that the outstanding teacher: 1) has thorough knowledge of subject matter; 2) is very well prepared; 3) is fluent in the use of the foreign language; 4) enjoys teaching; 5) is willing and able to answer students' questions; 6) is fair; 7) has well-organized lessons; 8) has good classroom control; 9) conveys self-confidence; 10) is dedicated and hard working.

Now that Moskowitz has done the pilot work, she (43) and other researchers will continue to investigate teacher characteristics and teaching competencies to determine *what* and *how* our future teachers should be taught. To date, no one had undertaken systematic research to show precisely *what* competencies should be required of foreign language teachers. Thus, the Moskowitz research can be regarded as a pioneering effort in this field. Studies in fields outside foreign language have shown similar results in identifying characteristics of outstanding teachers (Beatie, 5). Curiously enough, the two criteria used by collegues in interviewing potential faculty members (foreign language fluency and knowledge of subject matter) are in fact shared by good and poor teachers alike, according to the findings of the Moskowitz study.

A model CBTE program

To date, there have been few reports of ongoing competency-based certification programs in foreign languages, probably because such programs have not existed long enough for sufficient experience and data to accumulate. One program which has been underway for almost five years in Bellevue, Washington, is described by Eddy (12). As with other CBTE programs, this one was designed to improve upon the existing teacher certification procedure which permitted graduates of recognized programs to receive a provisional certificate (lasting six years) and then a standard certificate (lasting forever). The objections to such practices include the fact that student teaching is given no credit and that the only criterion for awarding a certificate is the student's having completed a requisite number of credit hours in education and subject-matter fields.

New guidelines for certification, established in 1971, have encouraged the creation of CBTE programs based on demonstrated teaching competence. In the Bellevue-Western program, the training of teachers is shared by a consortium consisting of the state college, the school district, and members of professional organizations. The training leads to eventual acquisition of three certificates: preparatory (giving student teachers a legal status in the classroom), initial, and continuing. This project is one in which teachers earning the continuing certificate could participate. Entry (eligibility) and exit (readiness for certification) criteria were set up. The exit criteria (the competencies in the CBTE) included the four language skill areas of the MLA Qualification for Secondary School Teachers of Foreign Languages, grammar analysis, cultural knowledge, and pedagogical competency. This last area emphasized several components of good teaching: 1) stating goals and objectives; 2) planning and carrying out instruction; 3) developing attitudes and motivation; 4) evaluation. All these criteria reflect the importance of the creative side of teaching.

The procedures by which candidates are evaluated include self-observation, in which each candidate looks at his own teaching (via videotape) and describes those techniques which are among the exit criteria. This process encourages him or her to think analytically, places the initial responsibility for evaluation with the candidate, and promotes discussion of teaching techniques. Each candidate is observed weekly in the classroom and participates in post-observation conferences. He or she may enroll in three courses offered each year—culture, interaction analysis, and phonology—to improve weak areas and to gain new skills. This entire program is subject to review by a certification committee from the state department of education.

Eddy's CBTE program has not proceeded without problems. University and college foreign language education departments are not enthusiastic about a program which keeps teachers away from a full-time degree program during the academic year. Eddy suggests that teachers should be encouraged to do academic work in the summer when they will feel free to take more than the minimum number of courses. That teacher candidates prefer to do course work in the summer is evidenced by their complaints about the difficulty of completing academic work while engaged in teaching. Eddy suggests that credit be awarded for time spent in classroom visits and discussions as a means of satisfying the teachers and the foreign language education departments. These shortcomings aside, the program can probably be considered successful in demonstrating how teachers, administrators, and academic departments can make the transition from an "earned credit" to a "competency-based" system of certification.

Preservice teacher education

We must now examine the issue of how we are training our students today to become the foreign language teachers for tomorrow's world. What new programs are being instituted? What innovative techniques are foreign language teacher trainers using? Has teacher education in general recognized CBTE? What special problems do educators in bilingual/bicultural and English as a second language programs have? How are they solving them? On a theoretical level, where do we stand today in the history of foreign language teacher education? What do we strive to teach and why? What are the problems that teacher trainers face today? Let use review and analyze the most recent discussions of these and other issues in preservice foreign language education to discover our direction as we train for tomorrow.

In the methods classroom

Foreign language trainers continue to be an innovative group of educators in solving instructional problems, particularly in the methods courses. Schwerdtfeger (58) and Yin (71) have worked on the use of media by future teachers. DeLorenzo (8) has added to the research on micro-teaching as a transitional technique for student teachers, while MacCarthy (39) has concentrated on auditory and articulatory training. Tinsley (63) has encouraged his preservice teachers to draw up instructional objectives and develop various teaching styles; Rivers (51, 52, 53) has offered comprehensive guides so that the teaching of French, German, and Spanish reflect the most recent research in psychology and linguistics. Leino (37) has studied the importance of objectives in foreign language instruction as rated by student teachers in her methods course. Her preservice teachers rated ability to distinguish and repeat sentences, words, and sounds; comprehension of a text; and ability to converse in the foreign language as most important—all linguistic rather than pedagogical skills. Zdenek (72) described the M.A.T. program at Winthrop College which has successfully blended the traditional background of the liberal arts with a practical training program in teaching methods.

Cohen (7) has been interested in techniques of error correction and how to teach them to aspiring foreign language teachers. He outlines several approaches to the correction of errors beginning with the decision of whether and when to correct. The kinds of errors to be corrected are those which affect intelligibility, are of high frequency, are at a high level of generality, have stigmatizing or irritating effects, affect a large percentage of the students, and/or are relevant to the pedagogical focus. Two other factors to be considered are how easy the error is to correct and the particular characteristics of the student population.

Once the decision has been made to correct an error, the teacher has additional, almost instantaneous questions to answer. Should the correction be immediate or delayed? Should the error-maker or the whole class participate? Should the teacher return to the error-maker or not, after the correction is made? Does the teacher, the error-maker, or another student make the correction? How does the teacher test for the efficacy of his/her treatment? Cohen has shown that what may appear to be a simple issue—the correction of student errors—is in fact a thorny one which requires a multitude of decisions which must be made on-the-spot and which change with each class, student, and teaching situation. Cohen's strategy is one of many for developing decision-making skills in the prospective teacher.

Another popular technique for preparing future foreign language teachers —the shock lesson—has been studied by Moskowitz (41). The typical shock lesson is one in which preservice teachers receive an elementary lesson in a totally new language, usually a little known one such as Czech, Swedish, or Romanian. The purpose of the lesson is to show future teachers who are, of course, adept themselves at foreign language learning and therefore not understanding of a lack of equal capability on the part of their students, that if they make mistakes common to many new teachers—talk too much, too fast, and allow little time for practice—they will not be understood. The hope is that if preservice teachers experience the "shock" of trying to understand a totally "foreign" language, they will be more aware of their students' difficulties.

Moskowitz's shock lesson consists of two parts. First she teaches a lesson in the foreign language that her students know best (Spanish in this case), but she includes linguistic intricacies designed to cause a great deal of difficulty: requiring responses with longer and longer sentences, posing a confusing sequence of questions, using confusing grammatical constructions. All the while, Moskowitz maintains an attitude that she is teaching an easy lesson with which the students should have no trouble. In a discussion afterward, the class confesses to feeling stupid, confused, and nervous and is surprised to discover that the teacher was to blame. In the second phase of the lesson, Moskowitz teaches a shock class in which an unfamiliar language is taught. The "learners" in the class inform the teacher immediately when they do not understand and give suggestions about how the teacher should make the necessary points. By these methods, future teachers will learn not to expect too much from their students, especially at the beginning of instruction, and will also become more sensitive to those who are struggling with a "strange" language.

Moorwood (40) is concerned about the teaching methods used in the teacher-training courses (group work, pair practice, individual participation). She proposes the implementation of various participation techniques for the prospective teacher through which students will develop skills in managing such activities, i.e., while practicing specific techniques, they will be directed toward more realistic discussions of methods.

Moorwood's procedures include:

1 Demonstration of a technique given by the teacher-trainer
2 Explanation of the procedure by the student teachers
3 A second demonstration, with other examples
4 Group practice of technique
5 Demonstration of technique by each student teacher
6 Discussion of success or failure of techniques
7 Repetition of the last three steps with a whole procedure of which (1) was only a part
8 Repetition of steps (4), (5), and (6) using various other concrete examples
9 A summary of all the points raised
10 An original composition activity
11 Peer-teaching and/or micro-teaching using the new technique

Students should thus be able to bridge the gap between theoretical class lectures and actual teaching situations.

Klinzing and Weiss (35) have done a brief but rather complete survey of the techniques currently used in foreign language teacher education and have drawn a number of conclusions concerning their desirability and efficacy. The use of closed-circuit television has become a reality in the last five years and has proven to be most successful in direct transmission of live classes as models and in recording student and practice teaching; such recordings can be evaluated later by the foreign language supervisor, the instructor, and/or the preservice teachers themselves. The danger inherent in this technique is that it may develop a spectator attitude on the part of student teachers; it should not become a substitute for active participation. Educational films have been available for a long time and continue to be used. They appear to be most effective in demonstrating repeated models of discrete techniques.

The development of portable videotape recorders has encouraged the production and dissemination of pedagogical materials and has been particularly useful in allowing future teachers to observe and analyze their own teaching. Research with the videotape recorder has shown that casual, nonstructured observations of classes by students have not proven to be valid sources of feedback. Thus a great number of foreign language education instructors, supervisors, and teachers themselves have had recourse to various classroom observation systems, most notably Flander's interaction analysis and its language-oriented offshoot, FLint.

A relatively new technique in methods classes is that of peer-teaching. This process gives the preservice teachers control over their own learning. Participants in such a method make their own diagnosis about the effectiveness, creativity, practicality, etc., of the teaching they observe in their peers. Further, they define for themselves the categories of behavior that they wish to acquire and then attempt to master them. The aspiring teachers, after having spelled out what and how they ought to teach, try out their theories on student colleagues who serve simultaneously as subjects, observers, and advisers. Role-playing is another technique that is especially effective in diagnostic situations and in solving classroom behavior problems. Klinzing and Weiss (35) make few specific criticisms of any of these popular procedures; they encourage foreign language education instructors to take advantage of as many of them as is appropriate and to be aware of possible shortcomings.

Teachers for bilingual programs

A relatively new area in teacher training is that of bilingual/bicultural education and the related field of English as a second language. Work in these areas has accelerated in the last few years (Piño, 47; Whitmore, 68;

Whitton, 69) as greater recognition at the national and community levels has been given to linguistic and cultural minorities and in response to such phenomena as the influx of thousands of Vietnamese.

In the field of teacher education, a recently established comprehensive program is Zevin's (73) curriculum for training paraprofessional assistants in bilingual education at Palomar College. The program leads to an Associate of Arts degree as an Assistant in Bilingual Education and is designed to solve three problems: 1) the role of the instructional assistant in the bilingual classroom; 2) the training needed to operate effectively; 3) the necessary kinds of course work, teaching experiences, and competencies. Instructional assistants are typically native speakers of the language being taught or the language used by the majority of students. In some programs, the instructional assistants serve as models for the students; in others, they act as a supportive link between the students and the new language. Zevin's program includes training in language, culture, and techniques of transmission, not just the traditional study of the nature and structure of language.

Instructional assistants earn a maximum of twenty to twenty-two credits in the program which emphasizes transmitting ideas, manipulating materials, and working with students. The program includes several instructional components. Students spend a minimum of 130 hours in class observation, participation, and practice; this is done primarily at community-based bilingual/bicultural centers. They also engage in various independent study projects, according to their interests. In the methods class, students are exposed to theoretical assumptions about language learning and bilingual education, approaches to bilingual education, methodologies based on linguistics, sociological and psychological theory, techniques for presenting information and individualized instruction, teacher-pupil interactions, and classroom procedures.

Other components include seminars in the art and music of the bicultural community; theoretical teachings in psycho- and socio-linguistics applied to bilingual/biculturalism; study of political, educational, home and community factors; discussions of culture and history. A course is also offered in bilingual linguistics. The instructional assistants should be able to read ESL lesson plans and carry out drills, should be competent in math and general science, and should have the ability to read and write English and the target language on at least an informal level.

The students enrolled in Zevin's program are vocationally oriented and not necessarily desirous of a four-year degree; thus completion of this A.A. program within two years is important. That some school districts are willing to pay bilingual aides more than monolingual ones is an attractive bonus for these students. Thus far, students have been Spanish-surnamed Mexicans, Mexican-Americans, and Chicanos and the language of instruction has been English with discussions and translation into Spanish. This pattern is not entirely satisfactory, and Zevin feels that a double track—one English, one Spanish—may soon be necessary.

The language component in teacher training

A great many researchers and foreign language educators have been concerned in the last year or so with the theoretical underpinnings of the work they are carrying out in the training of future teachers. A number of these educators have begun to reevaluate teaching methods and have suggested that their theories might be incorporated into our everyday teaching experiences. Theoretical discussions have appeared in almost every domain of foreign language teacher education from ESL programs here to secondary-school teacher preparation abroad, and have included some rather heretical attacks on the foreign language teacher education process at every level of instruction. Let us review the most significant writings to help determine how and if they will be translated into practical applications in the future.

Scarborough (57) is interested in seeing a stronger language component in the methods courses for future ESL teachers. He feels that there is a danger in basing teacher preparation so heavily on a diet of methodology, that preservice teachers typically will know more about methodology than about how language works. Most methods courses emphasize teaching materials and techniques and portray the successful teacher as one who can motivate students. Very little attention, it seems, is given to forming an understanding of the nature of language.

Scarborough proposes that a number of linguistic, psychological, and sociological principles be incorporated into the teaching/learning situation, principles which are not now emphasized. He lists them as follows:

1 Language should be described in terms of what people do when they use it.
2 The most important features of language are that it is creative and based on a rule-structure.
3 The basic grammatical model is transformational/generative.
4 Principles of human learning are important.
5 Humans learn by a process of categorization and hypothesis formation.
6 The more meaningful the input, the better the learning.
7 Practical language skills must be practiced.
8 Communication is influenced by speaker attitudes, social status, place, etc.

Scarborough concludes his discussion by citing several instances of how these principles can be applied. For example, teachers should be ready to present plentiful and varied examples of structures in the target language in order to facilitate hypothesis formulation. In general, Scarborough wants teachers to incorporate systematically the principles he describes and would like methods course instructors to be aware of preservice teachers' deficits in these areas.

Szentivanyi (62) focuses on communicative situations in her recent article on teacher education for ESL majors. She identifies four general situations: 1) natural, 2) pedagogical, 3) game, and 4) kinesic. Language acquisition is, of course, easiest in natural situations, but in the classroom most language opportunities must be simulated. Pedagogical situations are subcategorized as *micro*-(classroom greetings, introductions, etc.) and *macro*-(going abroad); the micro-level is recommended for beginning students, the macro-level for advanced students. Game situations can be closed (days of the week, months of the year, etc.) or open (spatial and temporal possibilities of a far-reaching nature). These game situations (e.g., a department store, the doctor's office) are still limited because no situation is like another; the differences (number of people, sex, nationality, profession) are infinite. Gestures, mimicry, and kinesics all play a part in defining each communicative situation.

To illustrate how complex communicative situations are, Szentivanyi breaks down the very smallest and simplest situation (two utterances) into its possible components. The first utterance (a stimulus) can be a question, an order, a statement, or a denotative (nonverbal statement). The second utterance (a reaction) can be an answer, an exclamation, an order, a counter-question, a counter-order, a statement, or a wish. The complexity of communicative situations increases, of course, in a dialogue among more than two persons. With her discussion, Szentivanyi hopes to show foreign language educators how important it is to prepare future teachers for teaching in multiple communicative situations and to broaden their training to include as many examples as possible of probable situations.

Characteristics worth cultivating

Landsheere (36) has presented an analysis of the most desirable attitudes and abilities identifiable in preservice foreign language teachers. He classifies these characteristics into three categories: knowledge of and ability in the foreign language, psychological perceptions, and pedagogical interests and sensitivity.

Psychologically, the preservice teacher should demonstrate total self-acceptance and the desire for self-knowledge. This self-knowledge will prepare the aspiring teacher to understand and accept his or her students. As far as aptitude for the foreign language is concerned, Landsheere cites three important factors:

1 An aptitude for phonetic coding and committing new sounds to memory
2 A sensitivity for understanding syntactical structures in sentences
3 An aptitude for recognizing correspondence in and between grammatical forms

Pedagogically, the future teacher must have the capacity to create situations conducive to learning. He or she must also be able to maintain a subtle balance among several fundamental features of the classroom environment: establishing good human relations, organizing the learning situation, handling significant problems, giving direct or indirect information and evaluating cognitive and affective features. The most desirable and predictably successful preservice teachers are those who possess the largest number of characteristics in these three domains; those who demonstrate few of these traits should not be encouraged to pursue a career in foreign language teaching.

Program evaluation now: Directions for the future

A number of supervisors, researchers, and teacher trainers have expressed concern for foreign language teacher training programs as they currently exist in most colleges and have proposed improvements to meet the challenges of present teaching needs. Joyaux (33) argues that two overriding problems must be addressed by our teacher training institutions: the recent decline in foreign language enrollments (partially as a reaction to dissatisfaction with higher education in any form), and the present concern with consumerism. Joyaux is enthusiastic about the new CBTE programs as one response to these two issues, especially if such programs direct prospective teachers away from what he feels is an unhealthy preoccupation with exactness in pronunciation to the more important content and professional components in the training of foreign language teachers. He would have:

1. Increased offerings in language and culture (not literature)
2. Deeper concern on the part of teachers with what is happening in the field of secondary education
3. Expansion of the concept of literature to include all that is written
4. Provision for students to take courses in the social sciences related to their language major
5. Provision for every prospective teacher to spend a year abroad
6. Continuation of teacher training throughout the teachers' career
7. Earlier and more frequent contacts between preservice teachers and the schools
8. Increased linkage of theory and practice
9. Opportunities for learning more songs, games, and use of audiovisual materials
10. Opportunities to learn the value of professional organizations
11. More attention paid to public relations
12. Recognition that there is no single way to teach a foreign language

In a thought-provoking article, Gaarder (17) has looked at the entire teacher training process and come to some controversial conclusions. He states that just as higher education is not for every child (we educators are reluctant to recognize differences among our students and perpetuate the snobbish fallacy of college education), foreign language learning is not for every student either. By ignoring this fact, we have become desperate and have responded by creating mini-courses, given primarily in English. It is a self-defeating notion that culture should get equal or greater emphasis, and if we recognize language students as an elite, we will teach the language first and well to our chosen few.

According to Gaarder, the preparation of our foreign language majors is a reflection of our inability to cull out the less than superior students early. He indicates that our majors score considerably lower that they should on standardized tests of language skills, and he proposes three ways in which to remedy this situation:

1 Provide intensive disciplined learning with living abroad as a requirement
2 Use the target language as the medium of instruction in all professional courses
3 Add a year of service abroad after completion of requirements for the B.A.

Such a program would take more time, and demand a high level of performance, but the results would be exceptionally rewarding, according to Gaarder.

Rivers (50) would probably disagree with Gaarder's conclusions about the elitist nature of foreign language teaching and learning. In fact, in her examination of the changing directions of today's education, she proposes *more* teacher-student interaction with shared decision-making, *greater* school and community communication, and *further* intermingling of all aspects of the curriculum. Rivers sees the educational emphasis moving from the mechanistic to the humanistic, views the foreign language teacher not as an elitist but as a comprehensive instructor, and predicts that interest in languages will turn from those of faraway places to *languages at home.* In methodology, teachers are showing a clear preference for *electicism;* no one method is best. Teachers are becoming more willing to listen to other teachers, not just the "experts."

River's views about the current state of foreign language education include a number of proposals for the preparation of future teachers:

1 New approaches to presentation, participation, and evaluation of foreign language education courses must be fostered, including convincing the profession that future *college* teachers also ought to be trained.
2 Selection criteria must be applied to screen out the rigid personality from the adaptable, outgoing one.
3 The adequacy of all teacher-training programs must be reassessed.
4 Interaction with students in a school (internship) must be encouraged and

must not be replaced with simulation techniques (peer or microteaching).
5 The profession must provide readily available film videotapes of successful teaching for the use of teacher trainers.

Rivers hopes that such improvements will result in better teachers and students and will begin to influence the decision makers in our society to recognize the value of foreign languages.

A training program likely to respond to Rivers's proposals is planned at The Ohio State University by Birckbichler (6) as a component of the individualized language program sponsored by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Birckbichler envisions training future language teachers in the normal methods course (background in general methodology, theory and practice of skill development, communication activities, etc.) and also offering novel instruction in:

1 Group dynamics
2 Individual learning styles
3 Ways to diagnose learner difficulties
4 Activities for remediation
5 Techniques to elicit information from students
6 Developing learning packets

Such training should go far to resolve the issues raised by Rivers.

Jorstad (32), reporting on an AATF-sponsored study on improving language teaching, found that student teachers need to be convinced of the value of using French in their future classes by having all courses in the teacher education programs, from language and literature in the French Department through the methods courses, taught in French. Further, most language teacher trainers teach nothing but theory, expecting cooperating teachers to be responsible for demonstrating teaching skills. Jorstad proposes a model program which combines theory with micro-teaching, presentation of alternative ways of dealing with language, and paying more attention to students' needs and interests. She also suggests that research be carried out to see whether it is possible to select persons for the profession, to find those individuals with unique enthusiasm for French, for the French people, for American students, and for teaching. Jorstad concludes that acceptance of this proposal would not change the education of French teachers very quickly, but great strides would be made in improving teacher training.

Training of teaching assistants in colleges and universities

One area of foreign language teacher education in which there has been a paucity of interest, and therefore few program descriptions, evaluations, or research reported in the professional literature, is the training of graduate teaching assistants (T.A.s) in colleges and universities. The phenomenon of the T.A. is not a recent one; there was interest in defining the role of this hybrid teacher/student more than thirty years ago (Pargment, 46). Over the years, T.A.s have taken on greater responsibilities in the classroom so that today probably 20 percent of all undergraduate language students are instructed by teaching assistants. Not until the last ten to fifteen years has any serious work been carried out to provide actual training, to set performance criteria, and to evaluate programs and their products.

Historically, T.A. training—for both trainer and participant—has been regarded as a low-priority professional activity, a time-consuming, thankless task for the poor instructor or assistant professor who is assigned the job of training, and generally an unrewarding but "required" duty for the T.A.s themselves. The only forms of guidance given to training T.A.s until recently have been of three types (Hagiwara, 24): descriptions of successful programs restricted to one foreign language department; courses in applied linguistics, methodology, micro-teaching; and criteria, guidelines, and resolutions passed by professional organizations citing the need for T.A. training. In this last category, three milestones along the path to the current concept of educating T.A.s should be mentioned. The 1944 report made by Pargment (46) is the first in which the need to train T.A.s is expressed; in fact, the report proposes that such training should take precedence over training in scholarly research. Graduate students should learn how to be teachers first, scholars second. A 1955 article in *PMLA* (49) was the first to outline a program for the training of T.A.s. In 1963, MacAllister (38) reported the results of a survey of departments employing T.A.s. In essence, he found an almost total void in the area of T.A. training among the colleges and universities responding to his questionnaire. There was no real training, no classroom visitation, and no supervision. The most common occurrence was for the untrained and inexperienced T.A. to be handed a textbook the day before classes began and to be told to "cover" through chapter "x" by the end of the semester.

By 1969, Hagiwara (23) could report that a good number of large- and medium-sized foreign language departments had instituted some kind of training. The programs were developed in the late 1960s to assist the ever growing number of T.A.s who were employed at relatively low wages to teach a steadily increasing undergraduate student body. There were not enough experienced faculty available to teach this burgeoning student population, nor was there enough money to pay them had they existed. At the beginning of the present decade, it was not unusual to find 90 percent of the beginning and intermediate language courses taught by T.A.s at institutions where graduate programs were offered; this figure may still be an accurate statistic for a number of schools (Sammons, 55). By their very numbers and by virtue of the hundreds of undergraduates whom they taught every year, the T.A.s came to be recognized as a group of untrained, inexperienced teachers who carried the burden of the undergraduate teaching load.

In the last six years, many training programs have been developed and reported in the foreign language education literature. These programs have ranged from one-or two-day workshops, to summer-long institutes, to courses in methodology, linguistics, and professionalism. Often, the T.A.s are asked to take a course in methodology in the foreign language education department. Guidelines continue to be offered (Eddy, 11, and Gerhart and Wobst, 18), occasionally research is carried out with T.A. training programs (Bailey, 4), and critics voice their objections to the methods of training (Ryder, 54) as well as to the basic notion that such training *is* a part of graduate education (Sammons, 56).

Recently, a number of full-fledged training programs, with the experience of several years of operation, have been reported. One of the most comprehensive has been established at the University of Pennsylvania, under the auspices of an advisory committee which recognizes the problems inherent in asking a faculty trained in literature to provide expertise in pedagogy and methods (Freed, 14). The committee identified three obstacles to the carrying out of successful T.A. training:

1 The participants often feel too "sophisticated" to be interested in matters of pedagogy.
2 The coordination of such a program among several departments is difficult, especially since many faculty members are defensive about the need for such a program.
3 The methods, approaches, and pedagogical skills of university language teachers are generally less current than those of most secondary school teachers.

Despite these obstacles, Freed developed a program designed to help T.A.s develop skills in:

1 Establishing objectives for instruction
2 Increasing maximum interaction and participation on the students' part
3 Producing and understanding spontaneous and natural expression
4 Creating drills from the mechanical to the communicative type
5 Using a variety of audiovisual materials.

The training program consists of four steps:

1 A pretraining period (the summer prior to the first teaching experience) in which prospective T.A.s read selected books and articles on foreign language teaching
2 A two-day workshop prior to the first day of classes
3 A series of monthly seminars on teaching problems

4 Supervised observation and follow-up discussions

The workshop is the heart of the program, and although we cannot outline it in detail, in essence the T.A.s spend their time learning interaction analysis, making a videotape of their teaching, discussing teaching methodologies, presenting and drilling material, participating in a shock class, learning about classroom and departmental organization, viewing films of introductory classes, doing micro-teaching and role-playing, being introduced to audiovisual devices. Evaluation of the program has led to the following suggestions:

1 The success of such a program should be based on the achievement of the T.A.s' students.
2 The program, especially the workshop, should be longer.
3 T.A.s should receive course credit for participating in the program.

In general the T.A.s' evaluations of the training are positive, leading Freed to recommend these procedures to others in similar situations.

The program described above is typical of attempts to provide training programs for foreign language T.A.s. At the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (Azevedo, 3), new T.A.s attend a three-day orientation session in which most of the topics mentioned earlier are covered, have year-long supervision of their elementary and intermediate foreign language classes, and are required to take a methods course. There seems to be a greater emphasis on preparation for the intermediate courses as well as opportunities for micro-teaching. In addition, videotapes are made in which the fledgeling T.A.s give a short talk (in the target language) on their background and career plans; each tape is evaluated to aid in making teaching assignments. T.A.s have given this program high marks; they find the time devoted to micro-teaching especially helpful. The most serious criticism is that the time for the workshop is too limited.

A similar program developed at the Department of French at the University of Maryland, has been described by Gilbert and McArthur (19). The usual components of T.A. training are evident: an orientation workshop, a weekly methods seminar on teaching French, demonstration classes, and observations and critiques of assistants' classes by the supervisors. A unique feature at Maryland is the tutoring workshop for failing language students, taught by the graduate assistants and observed by the supervisors. Another facet of the program is informal oral testing of the T.A.s' students by the supervisors in order to evaluate each T.A.'s effectiveness in teaching. An evaluation similar to the one designed by Gilbert and McArthur is based on two questionnaires administered to the T.A.s on general aspects of the program and specifically on the methods seminar. The orientation workshop evoked the most favorable response; the tutoring workshop received the poorest rating. The workshop was criticized for the trivial repetition of work being done in classes, the need to explain grammar in English to poor students, the high dropout rate among the poor students for whom the workshop was in fact designed. The methods seminar evaluation indicated that the T.A.s most appreciated class discussions of teaching problems; oral reports on outside reading received the lowest ratings. The authors have modified their program based on these evaluations and eventually will seek the reaction of undergraduate students regarding the quality of their instruction given by T.A.s.

The debate: To train or not to train

Even though numerous college and university foreign language departments now offer training programs similar to, but less comprehensive than, the three just discussed, it appears that the validity and necessity for such training are still open to discussion. Hagiwara (23) makes a strong case for maintaining T.A. training and for the employment of graduate students as T.A.s. He lists the traditional reasons for hiring T.A.s: financial support for graduate students, low-cost teaching for the university, and experience to help prepare graduate students for their careers. He also alludes to changing teaching requirements in higher education, supported by the 1975 ADFL statement on doctoral training (9): greater demand for generalists instead of specialists; the need for training in two languages, culture, literature in translation, and interdisciplinary approaches; and finally, more language skill expertise and teaching experience.

In order to meet the changing needs of the profession, Hagiwara (23) stresses the importance of:

1. Making sure that T.A.s' language skills are more than adequate, providing opportunities for remedial work, and evaluating their progress as teachers
2. Assuring that T.A.s teach as many different kinds of lower level courses as possible
3. Giving T.A.s the opportunity to teach portions of courses usually reserved for full-time faculty
4. Encouraging experienced T.A.s to aid in training others and to participate in the evaluation and selection of texts

Along with providing these experiences, departments should offer specific training in:

1. The use of audiovisual materials
2. Curricular planning and innovations
3. Measurement, evaluation, and test design
4. Methods of presenting literature and linguistics
5. A second or third teaching minor (possibly another language)

This program is not one which will fit comfortably into the normal master's or doctoral student's schedule. Rather, it will result in a lengthening of the time required for graduate degrees, a fact which Hagiwara recognizes and certainly does not deplore.

Some would go even further than most of the programs and guidelines described above and advocate teacher education for all members of these departments, T.A.s and full professors alike. Twaddell (66) feels that the foreign language classroom calls for the highest ratio of performance to learning and requires a set of procedures and devices different from those of other teaching areas. Every faculty member who steps into the classroom must possess these characteristics: 1) competence in the foreign language, 2) knowledge of cultural traits, 3) familiarity with cultural products, 4) information about the structure of the foreign language and the learners' native language(s), 5) understanding of the nature of language and second-language learning, 6) knowledge of specific procedures, materials, devices, 7) knowledge of the teaching profession. It is the responsibility of foreign language departments to train their instructors in the first four areas; the remaining three requirements should be met by other departments (presumably colleges of education).

As we have suggested, not all foreign language teachers and department heads support the kinds of training procedures just discussed. In fact, there is strong argument in opposition to the whole notion of the necessity and duty of departments to train their T.A.s to teach. The most vociferous opponent is Sammons, Chairman of the Department of Germanic Languages at Yale. In a dialogue carried out in the pages of the *ADFL Bulletin*, Sammons (56) takes exception specifically to the program recommended by Hagiwara (24) and more generally to the concept of T.A. training itself. Sammons contends that Hagiwara's program is founded on the basic premise that the T.A. system as it now exists is good and could be shored up by following his recommendations. Sammons suggests that, on the contrary, we should be making every effort to dismantle the T.A. system on the grounds that it is "... unethical, educationally unsound, and increasingly disruptive of our welfare and purposes" (56, p. 8).

Sammons objects to the fact that the educational enterprise is dependent on graduate student teaching and that the T.A.s have come to regard themselves as employees first and as scholars second. Although agreeing with Hagiwara that cost is the primary motive behind the T.A. system, Sammons sees the financial stringencies as temporary. We are, in fact, cheating our students and the public with cheap labor. Hagiwara's plan would extend graduate education for ten or more years—a protraction which Sammons regards as undesirable. He proposes that the system be revised so that only a handful of highly supervised T.A.s assist instructors and assistant professors in teaching courses currently handled by graduate students. More experienced assistant professors could be in charge of course supervision, lesson planning, etc., thereby employing more full-time faculty members (A.B.D.s or fresh Ph.D.s).

Also objecting to an anti-scholarship attitude which he sees in programs such as Hagiwara's, Sammons suggests that we stop regarding our undergraduates and the university administration as our only constituencies, that we cease "... playing off vital, innovative pedagogy against stodgy old scholarship," (56, p. 9). He fears that our colleagues outside of foreign languages may come to regard us as a band of grammar-school teachers who do not belong in an academic environment which has other goals. We should not regard the current situation of "permanent" underemployment in foreign languages and "permanent" underfinancing of education as something that will go on forever. Rather, we should be careful to avoid establishing policies that contribute to this situation (i.e., the necessity for and continued use of T.A.s) simply to assure our survival.

Hagiwara (25) has responded vigorously to the several arguments raised by Sammons, both in a practical vein and from a theoretical point of view. Hagiwara did not intend to condone the T.A. system; on the contrary, he told of the danger of taking advantage of T.A.s in order to reduce the cost of education. Abolishing the T.A. system, however, will not necessarily result in quality education. There is no guarantee that full-time faculty members can teach lower division language courses better than T.A.s do. Nor is replacing the T.A.s by full-time instructors and assistant professors a solution to our current job crisis. Sammon's suggestion that we replace teaching assistantships with non-teaching fellowships is a fiscal impossibility both now and in the foreseeable future.

Hagiwara claims that his proposals do not perpetuate abuses of the T.A. system and that the students in today's job market need skills and expertise in the "innovative" teaching of language courses. He wonders how the instructors and assistant professors who will do the teaching and supervision of the T.A.s in Sammon's system will get *their* experience. He also questions whether these assistant professors will have the respect of their more "scholarly" colleagues in the foreign language department. Hagiwara concludes his rebuttal to Sammons by describing the T.A. training program at the University of Michigan, a program designed to provide the experience and skills necessary for a foreign language teacher. The program includes: 1) the assessment of the language proficiencies of new T.A.s by administering the MLA test; 2) a remedial course in language skills; 3) a workable system of supervision; 4) a course in applied linguistics; 5) a course in the teaching of literature, with student teaching in a third-year literature course; 6) a course (not yet available, but in the planning stage) in the teaching of civilization.

Training for careers outside education

It may seem exceedingly inappropriate in a chapter devoted to foreign language education to introduce the topic of training language specialists for careers other than education. It would, however, be unrealistic to believe that all foreign language majors/minors are ultimately headed for a career in teaching—the system does not and will not require such numbers of language teachers at any level of instruction. It would be equally unrealistic to assume that those who have already made a commitment to education—undergraduate and graduate students in foreign languages and education, preservice and inservice teachers, and even college and university faculty members—would not wish to pursue other careers where their expertise in foreign languages would be a primary or at least a secondary asset.

Careers outside education are becoming more and more attractive today. The most obvious reason is the recent decline in foreign language teaching positions at all levels—from elementary school to graduate programs—and a surplus of fully trained and qualified foreign language teachers are now in the job market. Another factor may be a growing interest on the part of women students to explore careers outside of education, traditionally one of the most likely areas of employment for women college graduates. A third reason may be dissatisfaction among preservice and inservice teachers, who discover that they are not experiencing the job satisfaction that they had anticipated and/or who are unhappy with many conditions (crowded classes, restricted funds, dimunition of social status, fear of bodily harm, etc.) in their particular teaching situation.

A final reason for the increasing popularity of nonacademic careers is the gradual development of a *need* for second language experts in business, industry, government, and other public and private institutions. As fewer and fewer Americans are learning foreign languages at home (where first and second generation "hyphen-Americans" have given way to third, fourth, and fifth generations who are more assimilated into the cultural mainstream) and at school (to which the recent decline in language enrollment attests), the pool of foreign language-expert workers has gradually shrunk. Government agencies, business, industry, and other institutions, convinced just five years ago that their employees and administrators would require only English to carry out all their work, are now discovering otherwise. Foreign businesses are investing more in the United States and expect to deal with Americans who are skilled in languages other than English. Finally, the renaissance of ethnic and cultural awareness (Donahue, 10), one product of which is the growth of bilingual/bicultural programs in the schools and the community, is still in full bloom, and has fostered foreign language recognition in such areas as television programing, journalism, social services, arts and crafts, marketing, etc. Given the current state of affairs, then, we owe it to our students, especially those in preservice education, to inform them about the many careers available to them in which their second language skills and training will be invaluable assets (Spiegelberg, 60; Warriner, 67).

The most comprehensive review of careers in foreign languages published in the last few years was the 1974 MLA-sponsored study by Honig and Brod

(29), which describes careers for language majors in government, business, service industries, travel (hotels and restaurants), volunteer and private agencies, and health-related fields. Rather than summarize their findings, it is the intent here to update that excellent article with an emphasis on the role of educating students for these jobs.

Government jobs

In a study on language-oriented careers in the federal government, Fuller (16) discovered that Washington, D.C., offers one of the best job markets for those skilled in foreign language, and that the business community there is actually more receptive to and aware of language skills than is the government. Within the federal government one can apply for a job in which foreign language is a direct skill or in which language is considered a secondary or tertiary asset. In the first category, Fuller places translating, interpreting, and radio work. After describing the high level of proficiency required, she reports that the competition is keen (full-time translators are few in number), that many agencies employ translators from private sources on a contract basis, and that the current languages in demand are Russian, Chinese, Japanese, and the Scandinavian tongues. It is nearly impossible for the average language major to become an interpreter, although graduate-level training at such schools as the Monterey Institute of Foreign Studies, Georgetown University, and The Ohio State University is a first step. Many international organizations, outside of the federal government, do employ interpreters, again usually on a contract basis. The areas of radio broadcasting, announcing, and writing are associated with the U.S. Information Agency where the number of positions is on the decline.

From her survey of jobs, Fuller developed some descriptions of language-as-an-asset positions and several hints for foreign language majors who are thinking about such a career. First, these majors will probably not be able to use their language skills every day on the job. Second, one should not flaunt one's foreign language skills and thus limit opportunities. Third, language majors should acquire skills in college which emphasize a broad range and diversity (typing and general office skills, for example). In fact, many students would do well to acquire a second major in a field unrelated to the primary one (i.e., *not* another foreign language). One should be aware of the narrow pigeonholing of job classifications by the Civil Service; the foreign language major must be able to show that he or she is eligible for a number of jobs. Fuller describes briefly those areas of the federal government in which foreign language knowledge is definitely an asset: investigation and law enforcement; customs, immigration, and drug enforcement; administration; service agencies such as Action-Peace Corps. Jobs with the federal government are not plentiful; there may be a waiting period of six to eight months between applying for and getting a job, but if one is willing to develop other skills and to apply to the business community as well, the chances of obtaining a government-related position are improved.

One of the most frequently discussed occupations outside of education is that of a translator. This can be one of the most intellectually, professionally, and financially rewarding of all careers open to those with linguistic skills; it is also one of the most demanding and most difficult to enter. Tinsley's recent article (64) on translation and interpreting as career options is enlightening. There are only 1,500 simultaneous interpreters world-wide, most of whom were trained in Europe and may earn (at the United Nations) as much as $25,000 to $30,000 per year. The necessity for several years of foreign residency and trilingual proficiency at the native level, combined with the limited market make the competition for interpreters highly selective.

A career as a translator is a more likely option for the outstanding major. Less than half the world's technical literature is published in English, and as nationalism continues to rise, less will be written and/or locally translated into English. There is, in particular, an increasing need for technical translators as Germany and Japan continue their business growth. Although the federal government is the largest single employer of translators (Fuller, 16), the prospects for immediate employment are not favorable. Certain large American industries maintain a small staff of translators; other businesses employ free-lance translators at a rate of $10 per 1,000 words for simple texts to $100 per 1,000 words for complex material. These fees represent compensation for translation done into English; translation from English into other languages commands an astronomical rate.

The most important languages in terms of the amount of work available (listed from greatest to least demand) are: Russian, German, Japanese, French, Spanish. French is more important for interpreting than for translating. A translator must be competent in one or two of the five languages listed, plus one of the less popular languages (Italian, Portuguese, Chinese, etc.). Tinsley contends that one reason Americans do not learn other languages is that such skills have no apparent market value; however, this situation is changing. As more businesses and governmental and private agencies deal with foreigners using languages other than English, the need for Americans trained as translators (and interpreters) will be increased, a conclusion with which Fryer (15) agrees in his study of careers for foreign language majors.

Entering the business world

A practical example of how foreign language skills and training may prepare the student for a career outside of education is developed in a report by Alexander (1), who conducted a survey of 600 manufacturing firms in Kansas aimed at identifying foreign language skills required and/or used by these businesses. Of those firms responding to the questionnaire, 87 indicated that they marketed products in non-English-speaking areas and that they employed over 170 persons with foreign language skills. Their international contacts were handled in a variety of ways: through the national offices of a company, the foreign-based outlet, a translation service agency, free-lance translators, or their own employees. Employees with knowledge of the major languages (Spanish, French, and German) were in the greatest number. The businesses had no commonly accepted ways of verifying their employees' foreign language competence. A few firms gave these employees a salary differential; others gave preference to such applicants during job interviews. The businesses were in favor of more foreign language study in high schools and recommended practical and relevant training in college. Although translation appeared to be the most common application for language skills in these firms, such skills were useful in jobs of all types and at all levels. Alexander concludes that foreign language study must be more thorough than ever before to meet the growing demand for these skills in business and industry. Surveys of businesses taken in three other states—Indiana (Gouvernayre and Lauvergeon, 22), Minnesota (Piper, 48), and Oklahoma (70)—revealed quite similar conclusions in regard to need for foreign language-skilled employees.

Expanding the options

The most thorough study of careers (published) recently was carried out by Arnett (2) under the auspices of a Manpower Development and Training grant from the U.S. Office of Education. Arnett compiled a bibliography of materials related to the use of languages in the world of work, which includes lists of prospective companies for employment opportunities. He proposes that foreign language departments expand their offerings to include training in skills as adjuncts to other professions (e.g., social welfare, accounting, library science, criminology). His survey leads him to conclude that we must move away from ethnocentrism toward geocentrism as we prepare for a cosmopolitan world culture. The truly multinational companies cannot be nationalistic in politics, race, or ethical values; this flexibility extends to using the language of the host country and to employing Americans who possess foreign language skills.

Arnett's survey of jobs in the federal government revealed that the government is more efficient in the foreign language training of their personnel than are language schools and universities. In particular, the Foreign Service Institute reported that many B.A.s in foreign languages do not meet the minimal rating levels for proficiency in the language in which they received their degree. Arnett proposes, of course, higher standards in our public schools and in colleges and unversities to improve this situation.

In his survey of business and industry, Arnett identified 60,000 foreign language-oriented jobs among the 23 percent of the firms who filled out a questionnaire; the total number is probably much greater. Business firms also tend to be dissatisfied with the quality of the foreign language graduates who seek employment with them. Such firms often rely on foreign nationals who speak English, or they try to use English as much as possible in their daily operations. Where businesses have responded favorably to the use of language-skilled workers, they cite such benefits as: increased profits, improved public relations, and smoothness in their total operation. Apparently, employing highly competent people trained in foreign languages does make a difference to hundreds of multinational firms, and they are more than willing to place such workers at all levels of their business.

Arnett concludes his report by describing a curriculum demonstration project which he and his colleagues have developed for each of four career areas in which proficiency in a foreign language is required. The four areas are: 1) training for minority groups who do not speak English; 2) teaching monolingual Americans foreign language skills that will enable them to help those who speak other languages to qualify for jobs; 3) training executives and other employees of multinational firms abroad in the language(s) of the area(s) in which they are doing business; and 4) training the same business employees here in the United States in the specific skills needed to work in foreign-based firms. Arnett plans to disseminate his findings and his demonstration projects nationwide through the use of films and a series of conferences in order to inform educators, business, government, and the public about the growing need for well-trained foreign language-expert Americans.

Several foreign language departments have already instituted programs to prepare language majors for careers in the world of work. The University of Southern California offers a Master of International Business degree (Joiner, 30, and Stebinger, 61) which includes courses such as commercial French and Spanish and which encourages undergraduates to pursue business-oriented electives before applying for the master's program. The Florida State University has completed the first year of a program (co-major) shared between the College of Business and the Department of Modern Languages in which students receive the equivalent of two B.A. degrees—one in business, one in languages. Carnegie-Mellon University offers a translation workshop for inservice teachers in the summer. More cooperative programs between language departments and other fields—sociology, criminology, business, health professions, library sciences—are needed to acquaint foreign language students with career possibilities outside education.

Conclusion

It is time for us to take stock, to see how far we have come in educating our future foreign language teachers and to decide whether in fact we can prepare teachers for the future (Nash, 44).

In the last year or so we have seen an attempt to achieve greater accountability through competency-based teacher education programs. Moskowitz's (42, 43) attempt to discover how and why master teachers are so effective has been particularly helpful in this regard. Obviously, her work does not address an important problem: Once we know what makes an outstanding teacher, *how* do we train others in this mold? It is particularly frustrating to discover that many characteristics possessed by master teachers (enjoys teaching, conveys self-confidence, etc.) are not—and perhaps cannot be—taught in our methods courses.

Preservice education seems to be a mixture of the old and the new. Successful techniques (micro-teaching, use of media, shock lessons, instructional objectives) continue to be used. Several new areas have emerged: the increasing program development in bilingual/bicultural and ESL, a greater emphasis on students' involvement and participation in their own training, and a greater flexibility in methodology. It is recognized that we are in a changing world, one which has become smaller and which requires an independent, creative, decision maker to teach the students of the future.

This view is further substantiated by the number of proposals and guidelines offered to improve foreign language teacher education. Those who are unhappy with our present training stress recurring admonitions: broaden coursework to include more culture and related areas; get into practical teaching early; be aware of the public's changing needs; live abroad; do not become a teacher unless you are uniquely suited to the profession. These various proposals *do* recognize our changing globally interdependent world. As we learn more about fields outside education and spend time abroad, as we see the practical application of the theory we learn, and as we embark on a teaching career because of desire and aptitude, we will be able to meet the challenges of the future.

The *training of teaching assistants*—virtually unknown fifteen years ago—has become an established practice in colleges and universities. Its necessity and legitimacy as a part of graduate programs, however, are still controversial issues. The Hagiwara-Sammons debate (24, 25, 56) is an accurate reflection of the still unsettled nature of teaching-assistant training throughout the country. The fact is that T.A.s do teach thousands of undergraduates, do need preparation before they enter the teaching profession, and are being successfully trained in many programs. More research should be carried out to show how such training improves undergraduate language teaching and learning to verify the value of T.A. training programs. We have discovered that there are many *career opportunities outside education*, that these careers are increasing in number and type as the world shrinks. For the most part, higher education is not preparing foreign language majors for the world of work, but there are a few notable exceptions as more colleges recognize that not all language majors can or should be preparing for teaching careers. As our students gain expertise for careers in business, government, industry, and other institutions, they will fill a real need in our globally interdependent society. Then, the foreign language majors who *do* choose to become teachers will be a select group of skilled, perceptive, and enthusiastic young people, ready to respond to their constantly changing students and the world in which they live. *These* are the future teachers to whom we will give the responsibility of educating our children and in whom we will place our trust.

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8

The "L" connection: The interdependence of second language programs

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Introduction

Members of our profession assume that there is and should be a relationship between the three language programs: foreign language, bilingual/bicultural education, and English as a Second Language. The effort in this chapter will be to indicate that the boundaries and directions taken by the programs are not always clearly defined, and that the resultant confusion is detrimental to all three. After attempting to clarify the uniqueness of each program, we will identify what they do have in common, and most importantly, areas in which closer cooperation might be developed. The chapter is not an attempt to be exhaustive, but rather suggestive, of the problems and potentials in the three fields.

Confusion among the programs

Throughout the 1970s, educators and laymen have been bombarded by a variety of second language programs, and even a variety of names for these programs, to the extent that there is frequent confusion as to the distinction and/or relationships among them. Perhaps the most striking example of this

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confusion was captured in the statement of a candidate for political office: "I believe in bi-lingual Education as follows—I believe that non-English speaking be taught English, and English be taught non-English speaking" (Aldridge, 3).

Perhaps the confusion is not so complete or widespread as this quotation would imply, but one cannot help but feel that many nonprofessionals and professionals as well may be more than a little bewildered by the nature, goals, methods, and/or rationale for the three disciplines. Presently, bilingual education is particularly susceptible to political misinterpretations, and the repercussions affect the other programs. For example, a widely reprinted editorial from the *New York Times* (Vidal, 88) warned against the potential of creating political splinter groups among linguistic minorities, in seeming disregard of the fact that one of the required elements in any federally funded bilingual program is its English component—that students be taught to function effectively in two languages. Efforts might be directed at assuring implementation of that requirement rather than disparaging the intent of such programs.

A corollary to the problem is the danger that those in positions to allocate funds, to implement or discontinue bilingual programs may act in complete or partial ignorance of the nature of the issues. A second negative aspect of the ambiguity is the potential danger of duplication and competition for funds, publicity, favor, etc., on the part of the educators involved, because they do not thoroughly understand the three programs, their similarities and differences.

Definition and distinction among programs

In response to the need for making essential distinctions, some states have prepared brochures and other materials which differentiate among and explain the programs. The pamphlet prepared by the Virginia Department of Education (25) is an excellent example, and heavy use will be made of its contents as a starting point. The definition of *foreign languages* seems to be the most difficult, for what is "foreign" depends on the view-point of the individual, as exemplified by the cases of the ten-year-old born and raised in a barrio of New York City and the Greek boy recently enrolled in a city high school. Is the native speech of such children exemplary of "foreign languages"? Academic jargon would say yes—foreign language is any of those not considered by the general populace as the native tongue of this country, namely, English.

Foreign language programs

Although there have always been strong reasons for persons of any country to know more than one language, the current emphasis on the use of a second language in many occupations and professions is a healthy one. Foreign (or second) language programs are characterized by an attempt to give students some proficiency in one or more of the four language skills and also perhaps to increase their acquaintance with and appreciation for the populations which speak the second language. While foreign language study is not new to school districts, those with well-articulated, interesting language programs which meet student and social needs are fewer than we usually like to admit. There are varying levels of community interest in foreign languages and differences in the proportion of the tax dollar that communities are willing to commit. We hardly need to reiterate the post-Sputnik ebbs and flows of public support for foreign language programs.

English as a second language

The following charts, adapted from *Current Population Reports* (15), paint an interesting picture.

Table 1 indicates that over 3 percent of Americans usually speak a language other than English. However, when considered in terms of households, the figures rise to 4 percent with a slightly different distribution.

TABLE 1.
First Languages in the United States

Usual Language Spoken by Persons 4 Years Old and Over		Usual Language Spoken in Households (no. of persons)	
Total	196,796,000	Total	196,796,000
English	188,799,000	English	185,545,000
Spanish	4,027,000	Spanish	4,822,000
Italian	447,000	Italian	522,000
Chinese	280,000	Chinese	353,000
French	270,000	French	285,000
German	132,000	Greek	161,000
Greek	124,000	German	157,000
Filipino	112,000	Portuguese	143,000
Japanese	111,000	Korean	123,000
Portuguese	110,000	Filipino	122,000
Korean	90,000	Japanese	109,000
Other	812,000	Other	966,000
Total non-English	6,515,000	Total non-English	7,763,000
Not Reported	1,477,000	Not Reported	3,487,000

On the other hand, almost 9 percent of the population is bilingual, with nearly 13 percent living in bilingual households (see Table 2).
(It is unfortunate that none of these figures include Vietnamese.)

TABLE 2.
Bilingual Speakers in the United States

Second Language Spoken by Persons 4 Years Old and Over		Second Language Spoken in Households (no. of persons)	
Total with Sec. Lang.	17,369,000	Total with Sec. Lang.	24,810,000
English	4,942,000	English	6,993,000
Spanish	4,284,000	Spanish	5,189,000
Italian	1,442,000	Italian	2,331,000
German	1,27[illegible],000	German	2,131,000
French	1,187,000	French	1,990,000
Japanese	267,000	Japanese	418,000
Greek	265,000	Greek	327,000
Filipino	210,000	Filipino	255,000
Chinese	198,000	Portuguese	206,000
Portuguese	173,000	Chinese	196,000
Korean	92,000	Korean	126,000
Others	3,033,000	Others	4,648,000
Not Reported	1,463,000	Not Reported	3,795,000

Table 3 shows one other crucial fact—that over 61 percent of those who speak a language other than English have difficulty in English.

TABLE 3.
English Language as a Source of Difficulty.

Age	Usual Language Other Than English	No. With Difficulty In English	%
4 and 5	322,000	223,000	69.3
6 to 13	977,000	462,000	47.3
14 to 17	428,000	175,000	40.9
18 to 24	951,000	561,000	59.0
25 and over	5,320,000	3,492,000	65.6
Total	7,997,000*	4,913,000	61.4

(*For reasons not given in the report, this figure does not agree with either total in Table 1.)

A serious commentary is that of this group of almost 5 million people with difficulty in English, approximately 4 million have not been enrolled in school at any time since September 1974.

This group is the target population for programs in *English as a Second Language* (ESL)—the teaching of English as a foreign (or second) language to those for whom it is not a native tongue. Such programs are called by several acronyms, such as English for Speakers of Other Languages (E-SOL), or English as a Foreign Language (EFL), and even as TESOL, the acronym derived from the name of the professional organization, Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages.

By whatever name, such programs are designed for those who do not speak or understand English well enough to perform at grade level in the classroom. These students may be residents of ethnic ghettos in large cities, recent immigrants, native American Indians, or members of other linguistic groups isolated from the mainstream of English-speaking life.

The primary goal of this program is to "catch the student up" so that he can communicate effectively in the typical English-speaking classroom. Instruction may begin at any grade level from kindergarten through adult education. Occasionally, all of the students in a given class share the same language background, and their native language can be used to advantage. In most cases, however, students come from diverse linguistic backgrounds, and there is no attempt to use their native languages. Frequently, students are taken out of the regular classroom for several hours each week to a central location for special instruction in English.

While some school districts have assumed the expense of this extra instruction for non-English speaking students, many have depended on federal funds under ESEA Title I (87). Since ESL is a required component in bilingual programs, much support comes through ESEA Title VII also.

Bilingual/bicultural education

In *bilingual/bicultural education*, two languages and cultures are developed simultaneously—English and the student's native tongue. Without attempting to enumerate or explain the many types of bilingual/bicultural programs that Mackey (56) proposes, we can nevertheless keep in mind at least four distinctive types of programs, as delineated by Fishman and Lovas (22):

1 *Transitional bilingualism* uses the native language in the early grades to the extent necessary to allow pupils to "adjust to school" and/or to master subject matter until their skill in English is developed so that it alone can serve as the medium of instruction. Such a program is often known as "language switch."

2 *Monoliterate bilingualism* suggests goals of development in both languages for aural-oral skills, but does not concern itself with literacy skills in the mother tongue. Bilingual programs for American Indians frequently fall into this category, because, in many instances, there is no body of written literature for the child to learn in his mother tongue. This type of program is intermediate in its orientation between "language shift" and "language maintenance."

3 *Partial bilingualism* seeks fluency and literacy in both languages, but literacy in the mother tongue is generally restricted to subject matter related to the ethnic group and its cultural heritage. A program of this sort is clearly one of language maintenance coupled with a certain effort at culture mainte-

nance, and perhaps even cultural development, should the program result in the production of poetry and other literary art forms.

4 In a program of *full bilingualism*, students are to develop all skills in both languages in all domains. Typically, both languages are used as the medium of instruction for all subjects (except the teaching of the languages themselves).

The rationale for bilingual/bicultural education needs no lengthy development here. However, even within these programs, confusion frequently reigns. Gaarder (29) puts the matter of perplexity within bilingual education as clearly as anyone when he enumerates three major goals, each open to interpretations that seem to place them in opposition to one another: "1) Development of a more effective, more 'humane' one-way bridge to English; 2) more efficient education for children whose mother tongue is not English, plus the long-term development and maintenance of that mother tongue; 3) provision of a source of jobs in education and of preferential treatment for members of the ethnic groups involved" (p. 200). He cites the U.S. Office of Education and Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, as persons who espouse the first goal—emphasis on acquisition of English. The second goal has been effectively articulated by Spanish-speaking Senator Joseph Montoya of New Mexico—emphasis on full bilingualism; and Gaarder sees the third goal—with no emphasis on language skills—as being uncomfortably evident in what he identifies as "the lack of soundness in much of what is called bilingual education at both the school and the university level" (p. 201).

In addition to the basic humanistic reasons for bilingual/bicultural education, recent United States Supreme Court decisions and interpretations of those decisions suggest that any school division enrolling a minimum of twenty students of limited English-speaking ability should consider offering such a program. In *Lau* v. *Nichols*, the Supreme Court determined that failure to provide for students who cannot participate in instruction in which English is the medium is discriminatory. Consequently, HEW Guidelines now state:

> Where inability to speak and understand the English language excludes national origin minority group children from effective participation in the education program offered by a school district, the district must take affirmative steps to rectify the language deficiency in order to open its instructional program to these students (25, p. 4).

To assist districts in carrying out this mandate, the federal government has funded bilingual education, primarily through the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) Title VII, and, in low-income, low-achievement areas, through ESEA Title VII.

Competition or cooperation?

With extensive funding for bilingual education came competition from the other programs and further confusion. The American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese (AATSP) issued a report (Gaarder, 30) containing recommendations for teaching native speakers of Spanish in their mother tongue. The report presented two basic assumptions prior to making specific recommendations: 1) Spanish in the United States is "as worthy of use and development as the Spanish of any other region of the world" (p. 2); 2) the profession of Spanish teachers seeks to join hands with the nearly ten million speakers of Spanish in the United States in their common cause—the Spanish language. But, having said that, the report asserts its major linguistic goal is to "give the learner full command of and literacy in world standard Spanish" (p. 3). Not surprisingly, a Chicano linguist, Eduardo Hernandez—Ch. (39) responded to the AATSP report as follows:

> Our primary rationale for learning and maintaining Spanish is not so that it will serve as a link to Latin America, but so that it will become a strengthening and reinforcing bond for chicanismo within our own communities. Standard Spanish will not only detract us from this goal, it will be an alienating factor. We cannot go into our communities to talk to the people in standard Spanish and expect to effectively gain a feeling of *confianza* and *carnalismo*. To do this naturally and effectively, we must use the language of the people, our language, Pocho (p. 5).

Recently, there has been a great deal of concern among certain educators over the seeming competition of ESL and bilingual programs, most of it stemming from the Office of Civil Rights Guidelines (86) for implementing the *Lau* v. *Nichols* decision that "a bilingual program is required at the elementary and intermediate levels and an ESL program is declared to be not appropriate" (p. 3). Later in the guidelines, however, there is a footnote which reads, "ESL is a necessary component of all the aforementioned programs" (p. 5).

In an attempt to resolve this area of controversy, at least one entire volume has been dedicated to showing the close interrelationship between programs. In that work, Alatis (1, p. 7) cites the example of the ESL and bilingual educator who was quoted in a Canadian newspaper as saying that "bilingualism is a danger." By such a statement he obviously meant that forcing all French-speakers in Canada to learn English presents the danger of subordinating the mother tongue, causing assimilation and eventually eradicating French. What he was advocating was the subordinating of English to the position of a second language, and the maintenance of French as the primary or dominant language. Yet, Alatis warns, in the United States the statement that "bilingualism is dangerous" would be taken to mean the exact opposite, i.e., that native language maintenance is not a good thing.

Only as the teacher of a second language understands these controversies can he intelligently defend his own discipline. In the same volume, Peña (63) strongly supports the ESL component in any bilingual program, but points out that the teaching of ESL with a bicultural perspective is not enough. His position is that educators must insure that children receive adequate subject-matter instruction *while* they are learning English, that they be given the opportunity to continue developing their native language, and that the school environment not erode the self-esteem and cultural pride that children bring with them to school. He maintains that these goals require different expertise than ESL training alone provides.

In another paper in this volume, a source of misunderstanding is indicated within the government itself. The report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights (86) defines bilingual education as being:

> . . . instruction given in, and study of, English and to the extent necessary to allow a child to progress effectively through the educational system, the native language of the children of limited English-speaking ability, [and] such instruction is given with appreciation for the cultural heritage of such children, and with respect to elementary school instruction, such instruction shall, to the extent necessary, be in all courses or subjects of study which allow a child to progress effectively throughout the education system (p. 27).

Earlier in the report, however, a different definition is used:

> Bilingual-bicultural education is instruction using the native language and culture as a basis for learning subjects until second language skills have been developed sufficiently (p. 3).

One point that all of these educators attempt to make is that neither bilingual education nor ESL should be thought of as purely compensatory education, a view currently held by many professionals and laymen. They stress that the goals of bilingualism are sound for *any* social or economic level, and that the stigma of considering such programs as being for the "backward and illiterate" must be rapidly eradicated. Schinke (74) makes a particularly good case in this respect, noting that both Russia and Canada are far ahead of us in bilingual education; two languages are used to learn content, rather than as a mere bridge to the other.

Commonalities of the programs

Having seen some of the confusion among and within the programs, we will now take a positive approach and stress their commonalities.

A comparison of goals

One of the most recent statements on foreign language goals is that prepared for the 1975 Northeast Conference (Born, 10). Let us compare the goals articulated there with the goals of ESL and bilingual programs as found in Alatis (1).

1 *Language Skills*

FL: "In second language instruction the student uses the four foreign language skills actively and creatively for communication, learning, and personal enrichment" (Born, 10, p. 126).

ESL: The teacher is expected to "progressively develop in his students comprehension of and ability to interact with English-speaking American society through mastery of communicative competence in English as it is used by the English-speaking population" (Alatis, 1, p. 339).

BL: The teacher is to have "a thorough knowledge of and proficiency in the child's home language and the ability to teach content through it" (Alatis, 1, p. 345).

Emphasis is on communicative competence in all three areas.

2 *Everyday Culture*

FL: Students are to "understand basic behavioral and cultural patterns of the language community (speakers of a common language, whoever they may be) . . . [and] develop an appreciation of other languages, cultures and civilizations as they are manifested abroad and in their own society" (Born, 10, p. 127).

ESL: The teacher is expected to "help his students gain an awareness of and respect for similarities and differences between the English-speaking culture and their own cultural heritage . . . [and] help his students gain knowledge of American social customs, tradition, folklore, history and literature in such a way as to contribute to their mastery of the language and culture, and their future education and social development" (Alatis, 1, p. 339).

BL: The teacher must demonstrate the ability to teach culture and use cultural contrasts according to eleven separate performance criteria (Alatis, 1, p. 346).

All three share a primary concern for crosscultural understanding in the affective domain.

3 *Belletristic Culture*

FL: The students are to "know about major human achievements of the language community in the arts and sciences" (Born, 10, p. 126).
ESL: See #2 above.
BL: "The teacher should demonstrate the ability to understand, appreciate and incorporate into activities, material and other aspects of the instructional environment [including] the culture and history of the group's ancestry" (Alatis, 1, p. 346).

Knowledge of major contributions of a society is a common goal.

4 *Curriculum Integration*

FL: The students are to "integrate foreign languages with other disciplines (art, music, drama, history, home economics, etc.) to expand their personal interests, creative talents and communications skills ... [and] increase their knowledge of vocational and avocational opportunities involving foreign languages" (Born, 10, p. 127).
ESL: The teacher is expected to "correlate the sequence and scope of his teaching with that in other instructional areas in the curriculum" (Alatis, 1, p. 339).
BL: Since it is the basic tenet of bilingual education that students should be learning content through two languages, the bilingual guidelines contain a long section on instructional methods; for example, the teacher is expected to "organize, plan, and teach specific lessons in the required curriculum areas, using the appropriate terminology in the learner's language(s) and observing the local district curriculum guidelines. Basic elements and methodologies best suited to the teaching of reading and language arts, mathematics, social studies and science, as a minimum, must be identified and applied in the learner's language" (Alatis, 1, p. 347).

All three areas see their role as part of the total curriculum. Juxtaposing statements developed at different times and for different purposes makes comparisons less than exact. It is worthwhile, however, to examine several major differences among the statements.

Differences in focus

The foreign language statement, drawn up in terms of student output goals, assumes a broad teacher preparation in language and culture. The ESL and bilingual statements were drawn up specifically for teacher preparation and therefore specify the components of those programs by stressing the teacher's ability to evaluate student progress, to identify strengths and weaknesses in performances, and to adjust instruction appropriately. The bilingual guidelines extend this concept to teacher self-evaluation and suggest a variety of instructional methods.

The ESL guidelines tell the teacher to make judicious selection and use of methods, materials, and aids, while the bilingual counterpart wants the teacher to be able to identify current biases and deficiencies in existing curriculum and to acquire, evaluate, adapt, and develop material appropriate to the bilingual/bicultural classroom. The bilingual guidelines seem to be unique in devoting an extensive section to school-community relations, and they specify teacher competencies in that area.

It is obvious in a comparison of this kind that the goals, methods, materials, and competencies of the three programs have indeed a great deal in common. These goals statements must often be modified in practice, however. Jacobson (43) points out that total immersion into the other culture and/or language represents an exciting experiment in inter- as well as intra-national understanding but appears more appropriate when offered to children from economically secure homes for whom an experience abroad or one outside their own monocultural/monolingual environment would be feasible.

Even within bilingualism there are differing goals. Jacobson (43) maintains that the main goals are enrichment and social coexistence. The members of the upper socioeconomic class will often find bilingualism a worthy goal for their children because of the humanistic and practical values associated with the knowledge of two or more languages, whereas members of the lower socioeconomic class bear little, if any, concern for intellectual achievements of that nature or for overseas travel, but desire for their children a better, more balanced world in which to live. Hence their interest in bilingualism and biculturalism has a direct goal—one of social coexistence—for which they need competency in two languages and an understanding of two cultures to cope more effectively with the social and economic problems of their immediate surroundings.

An interesting hypothesis is that it is precisely these distinctions seen by Jacobson which divide the three "Ls," that the confusion of the programs and the competition among them is a result of the "felt needs" of different socioeconomic groups being ignored. In any case, despite these few divergencies, the over-all goals of the three programs seem to be compatible.

Other commonalities

Another area in which there is common concern is the need for *public support.* The recent statement by the Joint National Committee for Languages (47) provides an effective instrument for all three programs to draw upon. Jones (48) suggests that TV and radio advertisements be used to promote second language learning, and at least one booklet (Kunkle, 51) has been devoted to methods of publicizing second language and bilingual programs.

At present, there seems to be an informal sharing of ideas about *materials* and *methods.* One issue of the *Florida Foreign Language Reporter* (23) was devoted to the relationships between the three programs, including bilingualism, bidialectalism, black and standard English. Harvey (36) points out that in at least one state, local chapters of TESOL and NABE (National Association for Bilingual Education) are meeting occasionally on a joint basis.

Underexplored areas of cooperation

Despite the many similarities of the three programs, and several instances of shared resources, it is obvious that there is a great deal more that educators from each specialization can share which would be mutually reinforcing. Our purpose here is to suggest some of those areas in which cooperation is possible.

Obtaining financial support

One such area is funding. It was mentioned earlier that second language programs presently derive most of their support from local funds. The halcyon days of generous NDEA moneys are no more, and new funding legislation seems to be more directly funneled toward bilingual education. However, under IVc of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, there is provision for funding innovative programs in any discipline (similar to portions of the earlier NDEA), and foreign languages are eligible for such financing. Despite the inconvenience and frequent difficulty in getting information on this program, it is one which foreign language teachers should explore.

Many of the federal programs for second languages are described by Bell (6) who points out that $1.2 million was appropriated under ESEA Title VII to state departments of education for technical assistance to bilingual projects.

Another possible source of funding is under Part J of the Vocational Education Action Act in which funds are available to train various language groups in job-entry skills (Dyess, 20). Foreign language teachers with ancillary skills can well become involved in such programs, as can those with bilingual and ESL teaching skills. The bilingual segment of the forthcoming Special Education Act is yet another possibility.

Some $12 million was appropriated in fiscal 1976 under ESEA Title VII for thirty-two resource centers for bilingual/bicultural education throughout the United States. Activities of these centers include dissemination, assessment, materials development, and teacher-training. Many of these centers have been helpful in providing aid not only to bilingual programs and their ESL components, but also to second language programs and individual teachers. Even under ESEA Title VII, there is the provision for a limited number of English-dominant students to be enrolled in bilingual programs either as control groups, or to upgrade their English language skills.

ESEA Title IX, the cultural heritage part of the legislation, provides funds for developing and disseminating materials on the cultural heritage of various ethnic groups. Such materials would be a real boon to all three groups of teachers. Interpretations of the *Lau* v. *Nichols* decision allow English-dominant students to be taught the language of their grandparents if the grandparents live in the child's home. Capitalizing on this situation could provide thousands of new students for second language classes. ESEA Title IV also provides mini-grants to teachers for individual research and study, and training grants.

In some states the second language teachers have been tying into the Right-to-Read program. Typical of such an attempt is the attractive brochure put together by the Texas Education Agency (53) which states:

> The goals of second language study complement the goals of a reading program in the student's first language, because the development of skills in one language is related to the development of those same skills in another language. A second language teacher may use reading strategies of the first language to reinforce such skills as reading readiness, the use of context clues, reading for meaning and vocabulary building. In addition, the teacher may choose techniques recommended by first language teachers to select appropriate reading materials in the second language.

The brochure concludes: "Second languages and reading are partners in learning. Increased skill and motivation to read in the student's native language are realistic goals for students as they develop linguistic and cultural skills in another language."

Sharing resources

One of the obvious ways in which resources can be shared is for the teacher to read the journals, materials lists and other publications of the sister organizations. Admittedly this is a large task. The professional journals, on the other hand, could simplify the task by cross-referencing or summarizing appropriate materials from the related fields, as is done in the *Modern Language Journal, Foreign Language Annals,* and *TESOL Quarterly.*

For those who have access to larger libraries, *Research in Education* (*RIE*) and *Current Index to Journals in Education* (*CIJE*) provide abstracts of articles and publications which are otherwise unavailable to the average teacher. International journals such as *System* (17) are also ideal vehicles for an exchange of ideas.

Teacher training and personnel

Teacher education is a potentially rich area for sharing expertise. The Center for International Education of the Massachusetts State College System (69) has produced a set of recommendations and suggestions on teacher and aide training programs, preparation of American teachers for teaching in a foreign country, and the preparation of teachers trained abroad for teaching in the United States. Zaetta (91) also notes a set of bilingual/bicultural guidelines which cut across traditional boundaries.

Earlier the similarities in the goals of the teacher preparation programs were pointed out. Light (54) stresses the need for crosscultural education for bilingual instructors, since their own cultural, linguistic, and ethnic background greatly affects their possibilities for success. The need for linguistic knowledge about the systematic nature of all dialects must be recognized, so that teachers trained for working across cultures understand the sources of language variations and become better equipped to deal with them.

Another aspect of teacher training is that espoused by Scarborough (73) in which he advocates curriculum content that includes linguistics, transformational grammar, sociological speech situations, and training in paralanguage.

All three language education programs might continue to investigate various methods of analyzing teacher behavior and attempted competency-based certification described and refined by Moskowitz (61) over the past few years, the most recent statement being a study of the characteristics of outstanding teachers. (See also Chapter 7 of this volume.)

Input from the English discipline is a valuable resource, such as that derived from Alatis's (2) description of the LAPSE theory of teacher preparation in ESL, namely, *Linguistics, Anthropology, Psychology, Sociolinguistics, English* and education, and Girard's (31) discussion of audiovisual methods and the training of teachers.

As Harvey (36) points out, the teacher trained for bilingual education can be "re-used" most effectively in the classroom in which there is need for ESL or English as a second dialect. It also seems obvious that he or she can perform as a second language teacher. Furthermore, the preparation of foreign language teachers should include the vocabulary of math, social studies, etc., so that the typical "foreign language teacher" can step into the bilingual or immersion classroom without the tremendous amount of retraining that typically accompanies such a process. Of course, individual states' certification requirements may impede such an easy transition. Equally instructive is Utah's Modified Competency-based TESOL Teacher Education Program (Madsen, 57).

Saville-Troike (71) argues that the training of ESL teachers should center on educational methodology rather than linguistics, and all teachers should be trained in applying second language teaching methods in regular content courses.

In an article entitled "Warning—ESL (Traditional) May Be Hazardous to Children," Troike (85) argues forcefully that traditional ESL pull-out instruction (pulling students out of regular instruction to attend special ESL classes) has helped very little, while bilingual instruction seems to be producing significant improvement. His point is that ESL must be part of a bilingual program where language is a medium for communication of content, rather than an object in itself. He goes so far as to say that one major consequence of the *Lau* decision is that the certification of elementary teachers in ESL should be halted immediately, as there will be little role for such teachers in schools except as resource teachers or supervisors.

In a follow-up article Troike (84) spells out the alternative—*second language content instruction* (SLC). In essence, SLC instruction is based on the regular content of the monolingual English school program and is carried out by regular classroom teachers who have been given special training in recent methods of second language and crosscultural teaching appropriate to the age level of the students.

Another means of improving teacher education is for all three groups to draw upon the Title IV Office of Civil Rights which can furnish training in human relations so that teachers are better prepared to deal with minority students in their classes.

A final recommendation in this area is the initiation or continuation of methods classes in which second language teachers participate with bilingual teachers. In this author's experience, one of his most successful methods classes included experienced secondary foreign language teachers, prospective FLES teachers, and inservice bilingual teachers. While the high school teachers often had the mechanics of the language and techniques of second language teaching at their disposal, they learned a great deal from the experienced elementary school (bilingual) teachers about the many ways to create language situations in the classroom, to achieve discipline positively, and, most importantly, to motivate students to use the language. The experience seemed to point out sharply that elementary school teachers consider it their responsibility to get the child interested and involved in learning, while secondary teachers tend to feel that if the child is not interested in learning, he had probably better drop the class. This is what Molina (59) and others have spoken of as the *elitist* approach to foreign languages many teachers have had. In any case, the mixing, sharing, interaction of the methodology component of teacher training programs is of tremendous potential as a shared resource.

Borrowing ideas and materials

Responsibility for the development and distribution of materials can be shared. Biele and Rutherford (8) suggest a model for the production of foreign language *teaching materials* based on the British experience with the Nuffield materials in which there was close cooperation between curriculum writers and teachers in the field. Wheatley (89) describes curriculum materials which include units on the telephone, shopping, going to the doctor, which would seem to be appropriate for any of the three programs.

Although the resource lists for foreign language teachers prepared by the USOE are quite dated, the three teaching areas can benefit from newer publications such as "Resource Material for Bilingual Education" (70), a handbook for primary teachers and aides.

The excellent brochure of the New York City Board of Education (62) illustrates procedures for making teachers and students aware of the multilingual nature of a given community—how to experience its language, customs, and opportunities for pleasure and livelihoods based on language knowledge.

Reading the literature from related fields provides good input: an example from Reiner (68) shows the use of travel slides as a conversation stimulus in ESL classes. We should be eager to keep track of the methods and materials from other countries; the James (44) article on audio equipment is a particularly good example of the British and Canadian sources, which are the most readily available. Dipping into the professional literature in other languages, such as Trescases's (82) article on a method for using radio in the foreign language classroom (not to mention bilingual and ESL), can also be helpful. Specific techniques like peer teaching are important to educators from all three fields (Biehn, 7).

In the area of curriculum guides, objectives, and current outlines, foreign language, ESL, and bilingual/bicultural instructors are counseled to consult such works as "Instructional Objectives and Content Outline" (Frank, 28), and in the affective domain, Brown (12).

Relating research

Brown (12) suggests that we are experiencing a new wave of research in second language acquisition, and the implication is that all three fields should make use of and share this data. Bruck (13) and Politzer (64) describe research results on differing types of bilingual, immersion, and partial immersion programs in Canada. Some of this research seems to echo the findings of the Dartmouth Intensive Language Model (Rassias, 67), the description of which has appeared in the popular press.

There are several excellent bibliographies, such as Thogmartin's (81) on language learning, which are valuable references for all three teaching groups. Studies such as Swain's (79) are useful models for research design, but he points out the insufficiency of most data-gathering and testing devices in language situations, since it is easier to compare programs than to analyze their goals and outline expectations of the individual child's achievement. Often only what is quantifiable is assessed, and this has created a serious bias in most evaluations.

Career education materials

Although the concept of career education has been treated extensively in many places, perhaps it bears repeating that this, too, is an area for cooperation in need of further exploration. Recent articles by Dill (18), the progress report of the South Carolina Market for Foreign Language Study (Morgenroth, 60), the lengthy studies by the Olympus Research Corporation (Arnett, 4, 5) showing the need for some 25,000 federal employees with a second language skill and 60,000 language related jobs in 6,000 firms, should not go unnoticed.

Materials for career education and various items from ACTFL Materials Center, can be used in language programs of all types, as evidenced by Johnson's (46) work in providing ESL materials aimed at preparing students for job training, on-the-job training or entry-level employment. One of the newest pamphlets on career education in second language is that of the state of Oklahoma, *The World of Work in Every-Language* (90).

Sharing testing materials

Another area in which cooperation can be fostered is that of testing. Matluck (58) describes the multilingual, six-language test development project for the Seattle Public Schools. The tests determine the child's ability to 1) understand and produce the distinctive characteristics of the given language, 2) express known cognitive concepts, and 3) handle learning tasks. The design of the tests was based on the identification of basic learning concepts that children must master in order to perform in a school setting. These concepts include identifying, classifying, quantifying, interrogating, negating, and showing spatial, case, and temporal relationships. The grammatical structures of a language that a child must handle to perceive or to communicate these concepts were then determined. Although the tests were prepared in English, Cantonese, Mandarin, Tagalog, Ilokano, and Spanish, the methods used in developing them should be applicable to a variety of other language situations. It would also be valuable to see how well "traditional" secondary language students perform on such instruments. The other eight parallel tests measure what a student has learned in biology, chemistry, physics, geography, economics, history, and math, plus his command of his native language.

Often it is desirable to measure teacher proficiency, especially where an individual might want to transfer to another language program. Many foreign language educators are familiar with the *MLA Proficiency Tests for Teachers and Advanced Students.* They consist of tests of the four language skills, plus civilization, applied linguistics, and pedagogy. Although some parts of the test, particularly the pedagogy section, now contain items which do not reflect current thinking in the field, and some of the reading material requires literary interpretation, this battery has behind it a high number of prior users and complete norms. For teachers whose jobs require less specialized proficiency, the *MLA Cooperative Tests,* also published by the Educational Testing Service (ETS), may suffice.

A recent addition to the testing scene is the Spanish adaptation of the *National Teacher Examination.* Called the *Pedagogia y Conocimientos Generales,* it evaluates the general and professional knowledge in education of persons interested in teaching content areas in Spanish, primarily in bilingual programs (24). Educational Testing Service (ETS) has also been involved in the preparation of tests in content areas in Spanish for elementary school children, preschool children and secondary school students. Much the same situation exists where ETS has developed tests in French for the Ministry of Education in Canada; both proficiency tests for second languages as well as achievement tests in eight other subjects are available in parallel forms (English and French) for New Brunswick (24). These tests measure the ability of ninth-, eleventh- and twelfth-graders to read, write, listen to, and speak both languages.

Classroom techniques

Kohn and Vadja's (50) article on peer-mediated instruction and small-group instruction in the ESL classroom describes approaches which can be extrapolated into foreign language and bilingual classrooms. Entire volumes have been devoted to techniques which are common to at least two of the three areas. The Saville-Troike booklet (72) deals with linguistic and cultural conflicts, visual aids, teaching composition, French games, etc. Kunkle and Cipriani's (52) volume was the AATF's first attempt to suggest techniques common to FLES and bilingual education.

Sutherland (78) notes that in teaching children a second language, native-speaking teachers, several hours of instruction or exposure daily, linguistically unstructured activities, and no corrections until the child is fluent are all important factors. For adults he recommends a well-trained, dynamic, and patient teacher, daily or frequent classes that are small and homogeneous, linguistically and methodologically sound textbooks, role-playing situations in the language, varied modalities of presentation, a minimum of correction, outside practice, availability of tutors, individualized instruction, and explanation of purposes and goals for a given learning activity.

Another technique which can cut across all three areas is the modular sequence. The Hernández and Melnick papers (38) describe a series of activities within a cultural context. The module includes short-essay, pre- and post-assessment of the student, and suggested learning alternatives. This team has applied the modular sequence to an entire teacher-training curriculum in ESL.

Publicity: Letting the public know

Among the resources which should be shared more fully is a public effort to encourage funding. Jones (48) suggests TV, radio, and bumper stickers as among the most effective means. By careful selection of the message, appeal can be made to all three language groups. Harvey (36) suggests that the groups cooperate in contacting legislators and drafting legislation.

One of the common elements in bilingual (ESEA I) and Migrant and Indian (ESAA IVa) Education Programs is the inclusion of a parent committee to approve all the programs. This concept could well be applied to traditional second language programs by forming parent clubs for languages, if not to approve programs, at least to become involved so as to interpret effectively and justify them to other parents and taxpayers.

Bilingual educators have come to realize the importance of local community support in assuring the success of their programs. The need for that support is often felt to be greater in bilingual communities because many parents have had little direct contact with the schools, and even that limited experience is likely to have been negative. Teachers of all second languages need to realize that many members of their own communities have had little or no positive contact with a second language program.

Finally, it should not go unmentioned that ESL and bilingual education have developed a position paper (66) which includes a section on strategies to foster cooperation. Because it summarizes a great deal of what was mentioned above, and because it could well serve as an example for three-way sharing, the section is reproduced here in its entirety:

> In order to promote and achieve understanding and cooperation among bilingual and English as a second language educators the organization will take the following definitive steps, or reaffirm their importance in those cases where they have already been initiated:
>
> 1 Articles and presentations on bilingual education will continue to be regularly included in all official organization publications and conferences.

2 Cooperation and participation in publications and conferences on bilingual education will continue to be encouraged and supported.
3 Bilingual educators will continue to be encouraged to participate fully in all organizational matters.
4 Legislation will be supported which promotes bilingual education in the United States.
5 Teachers of English as a second language will be encouraged to study the cultures and languages of their respective student populations.
6 Local affiliates will be encouraged to organize institutes and activities which promote second language learning and cultural studies among English as a second language teachers.
7 The TESOL organization will maintain and enhance the reciprocal liaison which has been established with the National Association of Bilingual Education (NABE).
8 Local affiliates will be encouraged to establish and maintain liaison with affiliates of NABE which may be organized in their respective geographic areas, and to encourage and welcome liaison activities in return.
9 Efforts will be made to promote bilingual education, including English as a second language, as a viable educational model in and of itself, and to remove the stigma that it is compensatory education for the disadvantaged.

Dangers in fusing the three programs

Along with a call for cooperation, we must also be aware of dangers involved in interrelating the three "Ls" too closely. One of these was expressed by Dube (19) as he saw the potential danger of permanently fusing the FLES and bilingual elements of the AATF, noting that the mediocre success of FLES may negatively affect the continued public image of bilingual programs, since both involve second languages at the elementary school level.

Brooks (11) reinforces this when he wonders where bilingual education will be when the federal funds dry up. Will it be in the same position that FLES presently finds itself? He wryly defines education as "what is left after the federal funds are gone" (p. 1). Speaking from experience, Brooks is a teacher in Cleveland, a former FLES stronghold and a city which now has a Spanish-English bilingual program. Harvey (36) maintains that programs will fail if they do not produce results that educators can see.

Though the very healthy progress toward cooperation between foreign language instruction, ESL and bilingual education is gratifying, there is a need for maintaining distinctness. Articles by Shuy (76, 77) suggest that we need to keep in mind those differences, particularly because of the confusion in the public mind over compensatory versus enrichment labels on language programs. Programs should maintain their integrity so that if one "gets into hot water" the others are not necessarily affected. As we noted the ease with which the programs were confused in the early part of the chapter, we can see that there is indeed danger if the programs are not clearly spelled out, their roles clearly articulated for professionals and laymen alike.

The goal should be mutual sharing of resources, teachers, materials—a sharing from strength. For the present, it appears that the bilingual programs are being heavily supported by federal funds, and that they and the centers for assistance, materials, and suggestions established after the *Lau* decision should be made available to the other two types of programs.

In the long run, however, each program will have to be justified on its own merits; fusion of the programs may indeed work to the disadvantage of one or more of the individual programs, particularly if there is a sudden decline in public support.

Conclusion

There is an interesting and important relationship between the three programs which will continue regardless of the one temporarily in "ascendency". As Molina (59) pointed out, the foreign language profession needs bilingual education (and its ESL component) to establish the credibility of foreign language instruction. Bilingual education has demonstrated its necessity in political, economic and social areas. The more America comes to the realization of bilingual education, the more support there should be for making *monolingual* Americans *bilingual* through whichever program fits their needs best.

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Testing: A vital connection

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Language teaching and language testing

The field of language testing occupies a unique position in the American education system today. We seldom hear about specialty fields such as history testing or chemistry testing, yet there has developed a surprisingly large and active group in the language teaching profession who write books and articles, hold meetings, and discuss the theory, method, and procedure of testing foreign language skills. Of course every teacher—regardless of subject—is also a tester, but there is little question that the role of testing in a foreign language program is vastly different from that in any other academic subject.

This phenomenon is largely due to the fact that language learning differs from learning about history or chemistry or learning how to type. It is a skill, yet it also requires conceptual ability. It depends a great deal on memory, but it also depends on psychomotor coordination and social and cultural sensitivity. Success in language learning correlates highly with general academic achievement, as well as with personality type. The acquisition of a second language is a highly complex process which no one fully understands. This rather mystical quality is no doubt part of the reason that language testing has attracted the interest of so many people. Much of the data generated by language tests offers valuable insights into the language learning process, but the principal reason that testing has become so important in recent years is the increased emphasis on the development of prag-

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matic language skills. Testing provides the necessary feedback about progress and level of achievement.

The vital role that testing plays in a foreign language program requires a close tie between teaching and testing. As the educational objectives and instructional methodology change in the language teaching profession, the methods of testing must change as well. Ironically, this closeness has not always existed. As Schulz and Bartz (78) have correctly observed, most language tests during the past few decades have stressed mastery of discrete grammatical structures, whereas the stated goal of language learning has been the development of oral proficiency. Language testing methodology has not necessarily lagged behind; it has merely gone in a different direction.

Past trends in language testing

Language testing can be better understood by reviewing its history during the past several decades. Spolsky (83) finds three major trends, which he labels "pre-scientific" (mainly prior to World War II), "psychometric-structuralist" (beginning in the 1950s), and "integrative-sociolinguistic" (recent). Prior to World War II language testing was wholly the domain of language teachers and reflected what was done in the classroom. The language teacher needed no special training to perform the function of testing, as he or she relied on knowledge of the language and intuition to make judgments about student proficiency. Testing was looked upon as an art, not a science.

In reaction to this somewhat casual approach, a number of language teachers began to apply the already established principles of psychometrics and structural linguistics to their testing procedures. The field was invaded by experts, and language testing took on a new direction. Less attention was paid to *what* was tested than to *how* it was tested. Tests were subjected to close scrutiny, especially in the areas of validity and reliability. Statistical measures were applied so that a test could be evaluated in a very precise manner; subjective language testing procedures, such as essay writing and translation, gave way to the more objective methods of multiple-choice and single-item fill-in. Because many of the items in these tests concentrate on specific structural and lexical points, Carroll (7) has referred to them as "discrete-point" tests, as opposed to "integrative" tests which measure global language ability. Intuition and proficiency in the target language were no longer considered sufficient qualifications for writing valid language tests. A carefully designed procedure had to be followed, so that testing was now looked upon as a science, not an art.

More recently, teachers have become concerned about the discrepancy between language teaching and testing. This concern becomes even more evident with the movement away from emphasis on linguistic skills alone and in the direction of practical communication. If testing is to provide useful information about functional language ability, it seems fitting that language tests should approximate real tasks of communication. Tests should measure general language proficiency as well as independent and specific bits of linguistic knowledge. Many also feel that testing should encompass more than linguistic competence. Successful communication requires—among other things—sensitivity to cultural and sociolinguistic realities. At the same time, language tests must be reliable and valid. Language testing thus becomes an art *and* a science.

It should be emphasized that Spolsky (83) was not attempting to describe the kinds of tests that are used in the classroom. The three labels he used characterized not only the types of tests that existed, but also the general theories, attitudes, and biases about language testing. Elements of all three trends are present today, as the effect has been cumulative instead of replacive. While the integrative-sociolinguistic trend is still in its infancy and not yet well defined, it does appear to parallel the goals of language teaching today.

Language testing objectives

If the objectives of language testing are to conform more closely to the objectives of language teaching, then it is essential to have a clear understanding and statement of these goals. Educators now assert that one of the prime goals of language learning is to acquire the ability to communicate effectively in the new language. As citizens of the world, we must be able to communicate with that world. Jakobovits (45) feels that the goal of functional bilingualism in the classroom is unrealistic. He points out that not only are most students unsuccessful in developing even the minimal level of language proficiency in the classroom, but that very few students ever have the opportunity of using the language in a real communicative situation. Failures of the past, however, need not mean that there is no hope for acquiring communicative competence in the classroom. The principal purpose in studying a foreign language can still be its use in a practical way.

There is no doubt that the need for foreign language expertise in the United States is as critical today as it has ever been. While the influence of other nations is growing stronger, the dominant role of English-speaking countries is diminishing. We are also waking up to the fact that we must recognize the needs of the many citizens and residents of the United States whose mother tongue is not English. Honig and Brod's (39) survey, taken among American business leaders, shows that there is a real need for employees who have facility in a foreign language in addition to their primary skills—not only in overseas companies, but also in health services, education, and law enforcement agencies at home. As we view the needs for foreign language expertise in our country in relation to the training of people to speak foreign languages, we can see immediately that testing is a critical component in the total program. As with any cybernetic system, there must be some instrument to measure the degree of progress—or lack of it—and report back in some standard way. For this purpose language tests must report information about achievement in functional proficiency in the language, not only in understanding of the structure or individual aspects of the grammar and vocabulary.

Communicative competence and testing

The term *communicative competence* is used most often today to capture this notion of functional language skills. Schulz and Bartz (78) discuss some of the existing definitions of communicative competence (Hymes, 40; Jakobovits, 44; Paulston, 69; Savignon, 74) and summarize by saying that it is basically the ability to interact with members of other cultures in the broad sense of the word *communicate.* It includes more than just linguistic skills, and in fact certain language errors are less critical in the total communication process than some nonlinguistic *faux pas.* We must, however, be careful not to interpret communicative competence simply as the ability to perform a task successfully in the foreign culture without any regard for linguistic accuracy. It is possible to order a meal, get a hotel room, purchase a train ticket, or get directions without speaking or understanding a word of the language, but such a limited concept of communication misses the whole point. There is a great deal of difference between *coping* and *groping* in the foreign language. We must not lose sight of the fact that language is still the basis for communication.

Because the concept of communicative competence is still rather new, there is some confusion as to how it should be tested. Integrative tests such as the Cloze procedure or dictation are sometimes assumed to be tests of communicative competence, even though only linguistic ability is evaluated. Direct tests of language performance such as an oral interview or a composition are often thought of as communicative competence tests, although the criteria for scoring are almost always based on linguistic accuracy. It is common to think of any criterion-referenced language test as a test of communicative competence. Some criterion-referenced tests do measure communicative competence, others do not. Perhaps much of this confusion results from the fact that many language teachers are still not certain what communicative competence is. It seems clear, however, that a test of communicative competence must take into consideration all properties of effective communication, and not just language.

Performance testing

In educational measurement a distinction is frequently made between *knowledge tests* and *performance tests.* The areas of knowledge and performance are of course not always distinguishable, but generally speaking the former has to do with facts, whereas the latter requires the application of knowledge and skills to perform a task. Both types are useful, and a language teacher should carefully consider needs and circumstances before any test is selected or rejected. One important consideration in selecting a test to be used in the classroom is the effect it will have on teaching. This is often referred to as the "backwash" effect. Students are more concerned about immediate realities such as tests and grades than they are about any stated objectives for which they will not be held accountable. Teachers also feel the pressure, and consciously or not they often spend time in the classroom on exercises that approximate upcoming tests. Such concerns are especially important if the students of several teachers will be taking the same test. Forrest (24) and Schulz (77) provide convincing evidence for the reality of the backwash effect in language teaching. It is especially critical in the teaching of speaking, as there is little motivation for students to improve oral proficiency if they know this skill will never be tested.

Although both knowledge tests and performance tests have their respective places in a language teaching program, it seems clear that a performance test is the better choice for assessing communication skills. However, because of the subjectivity associated with performance tests, many educators have avoided using them. Ryans and Frederiksen (73) claim that "from the standpoint of validity one of the most serious errors committed in the field of human measurement has been that which assumes the high correlation of knowledge of facts and principles on the one hand and performance on the other" (p. 455). Haring and Hayden (35) also express their concern that in our schools today evaluation of performance in the skills has been grossly neglected. Knowledge is easily measured by paper-and-pencil tests, and teachers have simply assumed a high relationship between knowledge and performance. Cronbach (18) distinguishes between what he calls the "psychometric" and the "impressionistic" approaches to testing. The psychometric approach is concerned with accurate and reliable quantification, whereas the impressionistic approach depends more on trained and sensitive observers who "look for significant cues, and integrate them into a toal impression" (p. 29). Cronbach points out that "the impressionist does not deny the danger of bias and random error in judgment. He, however, feels that narrowing the focus to what can be represented in a numerical score on a standard procedure throws away most of the psychologically important information" (p. 34). A good test of communicative competence should be a compromise between these two positions. It is based on cues and intuition, but it should be quantifiable in some way.

Ryans and Frederiksen (73) suggest the following procedure for developing a performance test which is valid, reliable and efficient:

1 Make a job analysis

2 Select tasks to represent the job
3 Develop a rating form
4 Survey the practical limitations
5 Develop a tentative operating plan
6 Try out the test and revise it
7 Prepare directions for administration and use of the test (pp. 483–92)

The key to objectivity in a performance test seems to be the use of a *checklist* and a *rating scale*. The checklist is an aid to the scorer in recording important observed data. The rating scale is used to record qualitative judgments, and to translate them into some kind of general quantitative score. Examples of the various kinds of rating scales used in language tests are illustrated in Bartz (2), Bryant (6), Jones (48), Perry (70), Schulz (76), and Wilds (97). Jones (47) suggests five important considerations that should be met in the design of an accurate test of language performance. These are: 1) specification of the significant language criteria to be evaluated; 2) training of the judges or scorers with regard to these criteria; 3) construction of the test so that it is linguistically realistic and a rational sample of the language being tested; 4) proper administration of the test; and 5) accurate evaluation and quantification of the performance.

Many language teachers in their concern for objectivity in language testing overlook the advantages of performance tests, which make it possible for situations to be constructed that approximate real-life conditions. Moller (59) feels that a valid language test has to be concerned with an individual's ability to use a language effectively and appropriately in a realistic situation, and Corder (17) reminds us that tests of communicative competence must include situational as well as linguistic considerations. "What is being tested is not just the 'language processing device,' but knowledge of the culture and structure of the society whose language it is we are testing" (p. 363). Garcia-Zamor and Krowitz (26) include appropriateness, situational adequacy, rhetoric, style, and relevant cultural and psychological factors. They propose what they call "functional language analysis." Adapted from methods of manpower analysis, and using Fine and Wiley's (22) concept of the fundamental work unit, they suggest that an examinee's language proficiency be judged according to how well he can handle relevant tasks in the target language. Wilkins (98) reports on a "notional syllabus," which is being devised for the Council of Europe's language program. The principal concern underlying this approach is that of practical language use. What are the notions that need to be expressed in the target language? Instead of a systematic structural program which begins with simple, highly systematic language structures, the notional syllabus begins with the most useful utterances in terms of notions such as time, space, relations, etc. Groot (32) is presently involved in working out a model for testing the learner's achievement in these categories.

Testing the skills—speaking

The most neglected skill in language testing is still that of speaking. The reasons for this neglect are well known: it can *only* be done as a performance test—therefore the scoring is subjective—and it is very costly in terms of time and manpower. Subjectivity has been discussed above, but the problem of time is less soluble although certainly not insurmountable. By using short oral tests with an efficient scoring system, it should be possible for every student to be tested orally at least once each semester.

The best-known speaking test is the FSI (Foreign Service Institute) Oral Interview which has been well documented (Clark, 13; Jones, 48; Lowe, 57; Valette, 92; Wilds, 97) and will not be discussed at length here. Those who have tried it attest to its usefulness, and research has proven its reliability (Jones, 47). Many high school and college language teachers have avoided using this test, perhaps because of the administrative time required, but attempts are presently being made to successfully adapt it for their purposes (e.g. Reschke, 72).

Ilyin (41) has constructed a controlled oral interview for English which can be administered by one examiner in a relatively short period of time. Examinees are asked the same set of fifty questions in one of two alternate forms, with up to two points possible for each item. Items use pictures as cues, and the questions are all printed in the examiner's booklet. The *Ilyin Oral Interview* has the advantage of being standardized and easy to score, but does not constitute a very natural communication situation, and it is effective mainly at the lower proficiency levels.

In an attempt to overcome some of the problems of cost and subjectivity in oral testing, Folland and Robertson (23) have devised a group oral test. Up to seven students meet with two native speakers in a group. A ten-minute tape consisting of a report, in the target language, on a subject familiar to the students is played. The students are allowed to take notes during the playing of the tape. At the conclusion of the recorded report they discuss its contents among themselves in the target language. The two native speaker examiners observe the discussion but do not take an active part. The performance of each student is then evaluated, using a rather elaborate marking system which allows points on a scale from 0 to 4 in the categories *pronunciation*, *lexis*, *grammatical structures*, and *use*. Folland and Robertson claim that in a group test the examinees feel more at ease, and the resulting language samples are more natural. Obviously, the group test requires much less time than individual testing.

Jorden (50) has also experimented with group oral language testing, although more out of necessity than desire. She reports that a reasonable evaluation of four to five students can be made in less than twenty minutes. She stresses, however, that most of her experience has been with lower-proficiency speakers.

Harding (34) feels that oral testing in a classroom situation can be vastly improved by using trained outside examiners. The motivation to communicate must be natural, and any test must strive to resemble a real situation. The reality breaks down, however, when the all-too-familiar teacher plays the role of the examiner and asks questions to which she already knows the answers. Harding also stresses the fact that the scorer of an oral test must have a good understanding of the relation between correct utterances and incorrect utterances. Too often we are so concerned about what is *wrong* that we neglect to observe what is said correctly. In multiple-choice comprehension tests examinees are allowed to make small "errors" without being penalized—that is, they are not required to understand all of what they hear or read, as long as they comprehend enough to select the correct alternative. In production tests, on the other hand, every error is visible. It is possible to score 100 percent on a multiple-choice test without having a mastery of a substantial portion of the vocabulary and structure. In a speaking test errors should be weighted according to their importance in communication. For example, beyond a certain point pronunciation errors interfere only slightly with communication. Certain structural errors such as incorrect adjective endings in German or the wrong article in French are less critical than errors of word order or tense. The situation should, of course, play an important role, as tolerance to incorrect usage differs from culture to culture and from situation to situation.

Gordon (27) points out the problems that arise from the importance of time economy in oral testing. In a typical fifteen-minute oral interview a significant portion of the time is not productive because the interviewer can control the topic of discussion only to a certain point. Also, on any one topic selected for discussion, some students may be prepared to speak freely while others may genuinely have nothing to say. If several unrelated questions are asked of each examinee, the exercise becomes uncharacteristic of a real language situation. Gordon suggests using a group of related physical objects as the main topic of discussion in the test. In a typical test he has used for French, each student is tested individually for ten minutes. The examiner shows the student a series of five books—a miniature French-Italian dictionary, a miniature copy of *Taming of the Shrew*, a bilingual university calendar, an Italian Bible, and an illustrated history of Rome. He then asks questions about them. In addition to the obvious request to describe the books, each student is asked about the similarities and differences among them, about their purpose and contents, about the languages involved, etc. At the conclusion of the test the student is asked to select the book he would most like to read, and give the reason (in French) for his choice. The use of physical objects provides ample opportunity for natural discussion in the target language, and each student is subjected to almost identical requirements. Listening comprehension can also be evaluated efficiently in this type of test, as the examinee must respond to directions relating to tangible objects.

Greis (29) suggests several directions that can be given to an examinee in order to test specific features of oral production. Examples of these are:

> *Intonation:* You want to ask a friend if he or she prefers coffee or tea.
> *Reading an address:* You are giving the foreign student adviser this address: 503 S.E. Market St.
> *Giving directions:* Explain to a new student how he or she can get to the library.
> *Asking questions:* You are in a bookstore looking for your textbooks. Ask the clerk questions,
> 1. to help you find the books
> 2. find out whether you can pay by check
> 3. find out when the bookstore is open.

Such tasks do require a certain amount of imagination, but should nevertheless be considered appropriate for a test of oral production.

Levenston (54) defines oral proficiency as "oral expression and knowledge of the target culture" (p. 67). In an attempt to devise a test that would measure the oral proficiency of adult immigrants to Canada, he first thought up a number of situations from daily life that an immigrant in Toronto might face. The situational requirements included complaints, apologies, excuses, invitations, congratulations, praise, blame, criticism, and reactions to all of these. The settings included restaurants, offices, supermarkets, subway trains, etc. Some typical examples:

> You are in a restaurant. The plate you are given by the waiter is dirty.
> You catch a strange child in your garden picking flowers. She is about ten years old.
> You are on a streetcar. You try to get off at the right stop, but someone is standing in your way.

The situations are printed on paper and the responses are recorded on tape in the language lab.

Valette (92) offers numerous examples of speaking test formats, one of which is based on Upshur's (90) concept of productive communication testing. A student is shown a group of four similar pictures. He is asked to describe one of the pictures to a native speaker who can see the same set of pictures, each one identified by a letter. The native speaker must judge which of the four pictures is being described by the student. If the student is successful in communicating the information, it is assumed that the native speaker will be able to identify the correct picture. Note that this is a multiple-choice (objective) speaking test. There are some obvious problems related to this kind of test, but it does hold some promise.

Another speaking test that Valette (92) describes involves getting information. One of the criticisms of the oral interview is that the examinee has ample opportunity to respond to questions, but little chance to ask any. In this situation the student plays the role of the interviewer, and is required to obtain information from the examiner. The bits of information requested are typed out on a card, which the student can consult during the interview. A sample set of questions might be:

Name of person
Where he comes from
How long he plans to stay
What he is doing here
What part of the coutry he has seen

Valette suggests using Bartz's (2) rating scale for scoring this type of test.

Another useful source of ideas on testing oral communication is the *AATF Handbook on Oral/Aural Communication Testing* (Linder et al., 56). The advantage of these examples, submitted by French teachers in the United States and Canada, is that they have already been tried out in the classroom.

An intriguing method of testing oral proficiency has been suggested by Swain et al. (89). Called "elicited imitation," it was originally developed to study second language acquisition rather than to test language proficiency. The technique—very much the oral counterpart to dictation—involves having the student repeat model sentences which have been constructed to include specific grammatical structures and which exceed the short-term memory capacity of the student. Swain claims that it is necessary to decode, then re-encode, the sentence, thus providing information about the student's production ability. The procedure has been devised to elicit specific speech samples spontaneously, thus saving the time necessary to conduct an oral interview. Another method used by Swain and his colleagues for this purpose is direct oral translation of individual sentences. This is similar to the interpreter technique often used in the FSI Oral Interview (Jones, 48). It is rather artificial to be sure, but it can be useful if the examiner wants to get at specific areas of the language.

Testing listening skill

One of the problems of testing listening proficiency is that since the actual performance cannot be observed, some kind of indirect indication of whether or not the utterance was understood is required. It is possible for the "echo" to get in the way of measuring the pure ability to comprehend the spoken language. On the other hand, it is not difficult to devise reliable means of recording the responses to listening tasks. As a result, there is today no shortage of well-constructed listening comprehension tests. The questions which must, however, be asked are: How valid are these tests? Do they really measure communication? Communication involves understanding as well as speaking, and it is as important to be able to understand nonlinguistic signals as it is to be able to transmit them. Furthermore, it is difficult to write an objective listening test which measures only those cognitive capacities that have to do with language and communication. Corder (17) warns that if a "test is to be truly valid we must avoid, as far as possible, testing such cognitive factors as general intelligence, knowledge of the world and the belief system of the learner, or his general motor-perceptual skills" (pp. 359–60).

Whether because of satisfaction with existing listening comprehension tests, or concern with scorer reliability, there has been surprisingly little recent work done in the area of listening comprehension testing. One major exception has been the revival of the dictation test. The most prominent figure in working with dictation as a testing device has been Oller (66). Rejecting the notion that dictation is simply the echoing back of spoken language, he claims that it does involve a rather complex system of language processing. In order to perform the task successfully, it is necessary not only to decode the message, but also to re-encode it in writing it down. There is some question about the relationship of the phoneme/grapheme correspondence in the language being tested and the examinee's ability to do dictation. Stansfield (85) presents evidence that in a language such as Spanish, where there is a closer fit between the sounds of the language and the letters of the alphabet, it is easier to perform successfully on a dictation test.

A very interesting variation on the dictation test is the noise dictation task, first introduced by Spolsky (82) and later continued by Gradman and Spolsky (28). The object of the test is to reduce the redundancy of the speech signal, thus making it closer to a natural communication situation. Most listening tests are recorded with professional voices under ideal conditions, and are rather artificial as compared to the typical speaking environment. The interference which was added to the speech signal in tests by Gradman and Spolsky was *white noise*. (The term *white noise* derives from an analogy with white light. It is a random mixture of sound waves extending over a wide frequency range, very similar to the initial consonant in the word *ship*, or the sound used to quiet someone, *shhhh*.) The volume of the white noise interference varied throughout the test. High correlations with standardized instruments such as the Michigan and TOEFL tests are reported.

Gaies et al. (25) have recently questioned the validity of the noise dictation test in its original form. They administered it with and without background interference, and found that the ranking of the two performances was almost identical. They speculated that the lack of context contributed to low performance more than signal interference, and took steps to contextualize the items. Instead of using discrete sentences, short dialogues and mini-lectures were used. The style and content of English that a foreign student is likely to encounter in the classroom or in an everyday situation are reflected. Instead of using white noise for interference, *pink noise* was used. (Pink noise is similar to white noise but more regular in frequency.)

In each item the sentence to be written down appears as the last sentence in the context, and is signalled by a tone on the tape. The examinee listens to the dialogue, then writes down whatever he hears after the tone. For example,

On tape but
not on paper:
"Can I help you?"
"Yes, I want to mail this
package overseas to Thailand."
"Well I'm sorry, but this is a
branch office. We only handle
letters and domestic parcel post."
TONE
"Take your package to the main
post office." (p. 54)

The results of the experiment showed that the background noise still had little perceptible effect on the measurement of the examinees, but the face validity—and perhaps the construct validity—were increased, i.e., there was less irritation on the part of the examinees. The test did discriminate well between native and nonnative speakers of English, as well as between high and low groups of nonnative speakers.

Whiteson and Seliger (96) also report on an attempt to contextualize the noise test, as well as to make it more objective to score. Students listen to twenty-five short conversations that one might hear on an airplane. The noise is again artificial white noise, very much like that of jet airplane engines. At the end of each selection the noise stops, and the examinees are to select from a set of printed alternatives the last sentence they hear. A typical example is:

He: Do you mind if I smoke?
She: Not at all.
He: Do you smoke?
She: Yes, but I prefer my own brand, thanks.
He: Light?
She: Thanks.
Steward: No smoking. Would you kindly extinguish
your cigarettes.
(White noise stops) (p. 18)

The examinee must now select the statement of the steward from the printed alternatives. Many of the distractors were chosen from incorrect answers which students gave when the test was administered as a free-format dictation exercise. The test is economical, requiring only thirteen minutes to complete. Note also that it has ceased to be a dictation exercise, and is now a multiple-choice listening test.

Bowen (4) has devised an ingenious device to test how well nonnative speakers comprehend contracted forms in English. Fifty short sentences are heard on tape, and the examinee is to write down the full form of the second word (independent morpheme) he hears in each sentence. A typical sentence might be, "He's already seen that, hasn't he?" The correct response whould be *has*, although many examinees would write down *is*. Bowen reports that the test correlates highly with standardized measures, and it required only eighteen minutes to administer.

Valette (92) emphasizes that in testing listening communication, "the key concern of the evaluator is to determine whether the students have received the message that was intended, and not whether they made certain sound discriminations or identified specific structural signals" (p. 102). As one method of testing listening comprehension, she suggests "gisting," or getting the essence of a message. The examiner can relate a story, a news event, or a personal experience, and the examinees are to write a brief description of what was said (in their native language). Even though there may be words or structures in the original message that are unfamiliar to the examinees, they can often infer the meaning by watching gestures, or by exploiting the redundancy in the text.

This author has experimented with a variation of this method using unedited German news broadcasts. One news item lasting approximately thirty-five seconds was played, and the students were told that they would hear the following: the name of a well-known world figure (Kissinger); the name of a German city (Bonn); two abbreviations (SPD, FPD); the name of a European country (France); a date (1975); a sum of money (15 billion marks); and three words beginning with the morpheme *Bundes-* (Bundesbank, Bundeskabinett, Bundeskanzler). They were to listen to the broadcast and write down each of these items. Although most of the students were not able to understand much of the broadcast, they were able to pick out these particular items. In another broadcast a weather report was played. The students were asked to decide whether it would be a good day for an outdoor activity, and why or why not. How should they dress for that day?

There are numerous possibilities for testing listening communication, yet all of them possess certain inherent weaknesses. The teaching of listening comprehension is receiving a great deal of attention in language teaching today, especially in the early phase of language programs. It is believed by many that speaking proficiency can be greatly enhanced by early exposure to listening. It is therefore essential that we work on developing more precise instruments to measure the ability to listen to and comprehend a message.

Reading tests

The testing of reading comprehension, like the testing of listening comprehension, is well established in the language programs of the United States.

Again we must ask the question: Do reading comprehension tests really measure reading proficiency? That a test must be read does not qualify it as a measure of reading ability. A test concerned primarily with the correctness of grammar is not really a test of reading. Reading involves much more than vocabulary and structure, and what is more, it is possible to read and understand a text in a foreign language without knowing every word or having complete mastery of the grammar. There is little question that many objective foreign language reading tests are valid measures of reading ability, but we must take a closer look at other possible formats.

The reading test that has attracted the greatest amount of attention in the past few years is the Cloze procedure. Oller (63, 64, 66) has conducted extensive research in using the Cloze test as a measure of foreign language proficiency. Going beyond suggesting the Cloze procedure as a valid test for reading in a second language, he is more interested in employing it as a test for over-all language proficiency (see p. 254). One important aspect of reading proficiency that the Cloze procedure seems to measure better than most reading tests is that of sensitivity to discourse constraints. In a recent experiment, Chihara et al. (11) selected two passages of English prose written for nonnative speakers. Two Cloze tests were prepared, deleting every seventh word from the first passage and every sixth word from the second. The order of the sentences in the two Cloze passages was then systematically scrambled, the result being two sets of thematically related but logically nonsequential sentences. Four groups of subjects participated in the experiment: a group of native speakers of English, and groups of Japanese EFL students at the beginning, intermediate, and advanced levels. Each subject was tested on both passages, one in sequential order and one in scrambled order. All subjects performed better on the sequential versions of the test, especially those at the higher proficiency levels. Chihara and his associates conclude from this that the Cloze procedure is sensitive to discourse constraints.

Porter (71) points out that the Cloze procedure is not valid as a separate test of reading proficiency, as it is necessary for the examinee to produce words in the target language. "To be valid, a test should measure what it is intended to measure, and language production is *not* comprehension" (p. 152). Porter's answer to the problem is to supply alternatives for the blanks, so that it becomes a multiple-choice Cloze test. He suggests that the distractors be chosen according to the achievement level of the test group. At the beginning level, for example, distractors might be incorrect because of grammatical and semantic reasons. At the intermediate level grammatically correct but semantically inappropriate distractors can be used. At the higher levels style and register differences can be employed.

Probably the most common test of reading ability is—and always has been—the target language to native language translation test. In spite of warnings from many sources (e.g., Lado, 53), there are probably more "closet" translation testers in the profession today than we would care to believe. It is even possible that translation is becoming respectable once again. Sewell (81) makes a strong point in favor of using translation for testing reading proficiency, pointing out that it provides precise information about weak points, and discriminates well between weak and strong students. One serious weakness of translation as a reading test is that it discriminates against students whose native language is not that of the rest of the class. A native speaker of Spanish who is a student in an American university German class may be able to understand the German, but not able to put it into respectable English. Another critical problem is the reliability of scoring. In a list of ten sentences of moderate length there are literally hundreds of potential errors, ranging in importance from insignificant to very critical. Unless they are well trained, scorers cannot be expected to evaluate all of the tests consistently. Child (12) has devised a means of scoring translation tests that he has found to be quite objective. Errors are classified as to severity level, and each type is assigned a negative point value. A passage is first corrected, then scored on the basis of the established point value.

The Foreign Service Institute uses what might be called an oral translation test to measure reading ability. Passages in the various languages are selected and judged according to difficulty level. The examinee is asked to read a passage and give an oral summary of it in English. If he performs well, he is given a passage at the next higher level. If he experiences difficulty, he is given one at the next lower level. When the examiner is satisfied that he knows the level of the examinee, a rating on an eleven-point scale is assigned.

Taking a tip from Davies (19), Bowen (5) has devised what he calls an "editing task" reading test. After selecting a text, randomly chosen extraneous words are added at random intervals. The intervals are determined by adding the figures on three dice (i.e., between three and eighteen), and the words are taken from the same position on successive pages of another book. The examinee is to cross out all words that he feels do not belong in the text. The score is calculated on the basis of the number of extraneous words correctly identified, minus the extraneous words that were missed and the nonextraneous words that were crossed out. The test is timed, so that speed of reading as well as general reading proficiency are tested. Bowen reports that the test correlates highly with the Michigan Test as well as with other admission tests administered at the American University in Cairo.

Valette (92) calls attention to the difference between reading on tests and reading in a typical everyday life situation. In a natural situation "people read material in the target language to obtain specific information. In other words, they have questions in mind . . . and are looking for an answer." She suggests that for certain reading tests the questions should be asked *before* the students begin. One of the examples she provides is a brochure from a city about activities for tourists. The questions revolve around what one could do under certain circumstances—e.g., "It is Wednesday afternoon. Which places could you visit?" "You are fifteen years old: where can you get in free?" For practical reading purposes there are a number of situations which never find their way into any kind of reading test. If one is living in the culture, it is necessary to learn to read signs on stores, offices, street corners, walls, and placards. It is necessary to read schedules, traffic signs, advertisements, and menus. Often the syntax and vocabulary in these texts is not the same as for literature or newspaper prose.

At the R1 level in the United States Civil Service Definitions for Language Proficiency (93), a candidate is supposed to be able to read personal and place names, street signs, office and shop designations, numbers, and isolated words and phrases. At the R5 level a candidate is supposed to be able to read highly colloquial writing as well as handwritten documents. The question here is how this proficiency is to be tested. In most cases it is not, since such skills are not measured through the use of multiple-choice tests. Here again, performance tests with checklists and rating scales must be devised.

Tests of writing

Just as the teaching of writing has been very much neglected in many foreign language programs, the testing of writing has been all but forgotten. Such an omission should not be terribly alarming, however, as writing is the least useful of the foreign language skills, and the most difficult to master. It is possible to survive very well in a foreign culture without having to write a great deal. Since many students have difficulty in writing their own language well, they cannot be expected to become proficient in writing the target language. Good writing, more than any of the other language skills, requires precise use of language and sensitivity to style.

The most common form of writing test is still the essay or composition. Its strengths and weaknesses are well known, but it remains the most valid method of measuring a student's ability to write in the target language. Bryant (6) suggests a method he has found to be successful in reducing the subjectivity in evaluating compositions. A checklist with four categories is completed for each composition. The categories—treatment of subject and organization, vocabulary, errors, and structures—have five defined levels, so that scores may range from 0 to 20. He admits that without proper and adequate training teachers can easily abuse the system, but his experience has been that teachers and students alike have found the method to be fair.

Harrison (36) reports on an experimental French writing test which was carried out on 128 candidates. In this "reorientation test," the candidates read a passage which was divided into two parts, then were asked to rewrite each part from a different point of view. The passage describes an incident involving several people. The task in the first part is to write a diary entry about the incident from the point of view of one of the characters (a small boy); in the second part the student is to recount the incident to a relative from the point of view of another character (an adult). The directions for performing the reorientation are very explicit. Performance is judged on grammatical accuracy, the use of relevant words that were not in the original text, and appropriate use of register.

Monroe (60) has studied what he calls "syntactic fluency" of nonnatives writing French. Four groups of Americans at different proficiency levels and one group of native speakers of French were given a passage consisting of short simple sentences. Each group was asked to rewrite the passage in more acceptable French. The products of the Americans were then compared with those of the native speakers of French. The native French speakers and the more advanced American students tended to use longer sentences, more embedding, and more prepositional phrases, appositives, participles, and compound nouns. In other words, the more proficient group demonstrated economy of style and preciseness in their use of syntax.

Translation from native to target language is also widely used as a test of writing ability. Again the problems are well known, but so are the advantages. Since there is, of course, greater uniformity among the members of a native group, the products tend to be more consistent. Harrison (36) relates that teachers in Great Britain still find translation to be useful in testing writing, especially at the higher levels: it tests specific points of the language, and the stimulus for all examinees is the same. Matthews-Břeský (58) feels that translation is a perfectly valid device for testing writing in a foreign language as long as certain conditions are met: 1) that comprehension is not being tested; 2) that the material contains no difficult incidental features; 3) that only one response be acceptable on the relevant point; and 4) that controlled translation be used in cases of target language-native language grammatical divergence (p. 58). He feels that there are certain aspects of the language which can best be tested by translation.

Testing over-all language proficiency

The testing of the four language skills as separate linguistic entities is based on the assumption that each is somewhat autonomous from the rest. No one really believes that the skill of language speaking is totally separate and independent from that of reading, for example, but there is at least an implicit assumption in most language tests that one of the skills is being measured more than the others. Recent research has suggested that the autonomy of language skills is not as great as has been assumed, and in fact a speaker of a second language acquires what Spolsky (82) has termed an "over-all proficiency," which can be employed in any of the skills. This does not imply that the balance of abilities is the same for all skills. It merely suggests that all speakers have a general proficiency which may be acquired by different sense modalities but can be applied to any of the skills.

Oller (64) provides as evidence for the existence of an over-all proficiency the fact that there is a high correlation between language tests that seek to measure different skills, as well as between integrative tests and discrete-point tests. For example, the Cloze test, originally thought to be only a test of reading comprehension, correlates highly with listening comprehension tests. Dictation tests correlate highly with reading tests. In a recent study by Oller and Hinofotis (67) a group of 106 subjects were administered a Cloze test, a placement examination consisting of three subparts, and an oral interview. The results point out unique variances associated with the separate skills, *but* also suggest the existence of a substantial factor of general proficiency.

The implications of over-all language proficiency for testing are significant. In cases not requiring precise predictive information—for example in admission tests, placement tests, achievement tests—a single integrative test such as a Cloze test would be more efficient and economical than a battery of discrete-skill tests. It should be noted, however, that tests of over-all proficiency are generally not useful for diagnosing errors.

Cultural and sociolinguistic considerations in testing

Paulston (69) makes a strong point that communicative competence must include the social and cultural meanings in language. We are all aware that the social context of language is almost as important as the linguistic context—and sometimes even more so. Missing the cultural cues of a message may be the same as missing the message entirely. We should applaud the suggestions to teach cultural and social aspects of communication, but we should also be aware of the problems it can cause for language testing. Most language tests—even speaking tests—have been devoid of any cultural framework. One of the problems of testing cultural and social aspects of communication is that we are not very aware of our own nonlinguistic communicative behavior. As language teachers we have learned how to describe the language, but we are not at all certain what else we do when we communicate. It is also a fact that expectations about foreigners differ according to their level of language proficiency. A foreigner who struggles with the language is more easily forgiven his social blunders than his compatriot who speaks the target language well. Increase in culture and social sensitivity must accompany progress in language proficiency.

Kettering (52) offers some suggestions for incorporating cultural and social tasks into teaching situations. Among them are hiding feelings (politeness), greetings, introductions, excuses, compliments, and complaints. The problem for testing is that the motivation for communicating these feelings is artificial. In a face-to-face interview the examinee can easily get caught up in the conversation and speak because he *wants* to, but it would be difficult to test his linguistic reaction to surprise, disappointment, anger, or pain.

Another challenge for testing real communicative competence is in the area of listening. Feelings such as annoyance, impatience, gratitude, admiration, and sarcasm are often transmitted by nonlinguistic signals, and the language learner must learn how to interpret them. The sentence, "I'm glad you were able to come" can have several different meanings, depending on the intonation, facial expressions, or situation.

Some case studies

Language testing in the classroom is important not only in providing feedback to the student and teacher, but also as a factor in assigning grades. As important as a good grade may be to a student, it has little direct relationship to language learning, and therefore serves only as an indirect reward for learning the language well. Language testing is frequently used outside the classroom to determine qualifications for hiring, personnel placement, promotion, or the ability to function within a foreign culture. A promotion in a job may seem to have as its basis the same motivation as a good grade in school, but in the job the language *must* be used to perform the necessary tasks.

Among the best-known tests of this type is the FSI Oral Interview. The United States Department of State has designated certain personnel positions as "language-essential," and employees who occupy these positions must possess a defined level of language proficiency. Although one may be assigned to such positions on a probationary basis, promotion can be withheld until the proficiency has been achieved, and eventual termination of employment is possible. In positions designated as language-essential, employees must use the language as part of their jobs. If a Foreign Service officer is assigned to Italy, it is assumed that he can speak Italian or is in the process of learning it. The test is supposed to predict how well the candidate will be able to function in the language on the job. The FSI Oral Interview has been used in the State Department since 1956, shortly after definitions of proficiency were formulated, and the checklist and rating scale was devised. Many testers have found that after a certain amount of experience a rating can be determined accurately without relying on the systematic scoring method. They have internalized the procedure to the point that the checklist and rating scale are used primarily to keep in tune.

The situation is vastly different with respect to foreign guest workers in West Germany. The first workers to come to Germany after the war were left to their own devices to survive in the culture. They remained almost totally segregated from West German society, and got by without knowing much German. Most of them stayed for a few years before returning to their home countries. Eventually, more and more of them began to bring their families, and some married native Germans. Some applied for permanent resident permits, others for citizenship. The West German government realized that it had an obligation to include language instruction among the social benefits provided to these guest workers, but traditional teaching and testing methods were not suitable for many of these people. What they needed was not the ability to speak perfect German, but rather an ability to cope within the language, to buy their essential needs, to communicate with the bureaucrats, to survive. As Nickel (61) puts it so well, it was more important for them to be imperfect polyglots than perfectionists in the language. Clearly, the criteria for testing should be based less on linguistic accuracy than on functional ability.

The Council of Europe has seen the need to define a minimal level of language proficiency, as the Common Market brings together speakers of seven different languages. According to van Ek (94) it was decided to define a "threshold level" of language proficiency, which would be the lowest level of general foreign language ability. It would "allow learners to maintain themselves in most everyday situations" (p. 8). The implementation of the threshold level of language teaching and testing is based on Wilkins's notional syllabus (98).

An ESL program for foreign medical graduates working in the United States has been reported on recently by van Naerssen (95). According to her report, the English proficiency of foreign doctors practicing in the United States ranges all the way from excellent to hazardous. One can imagine the potentially dangerous results of poor communication between doctor and patient or between doctor and medical assistant. Foreign doctors must pass an English examination at some point, but in the majority of cases it is a standardized ESL exam and does not test the practical communicative skills that relate to the medical profession. Van Naerssen recommends a mandatory English-for-Medical-Personnel course, from which one could graduate only after passing a practical language examination. She suggests tasks such as taking a medical history and explaining a diagnosis. A representative from the hospital medical records department and a hospital department head should be present to assist in evaluating the performance.

Recent research in language testing

Although numerous empirical research studies have been conducted in the area of second language learning during the past few decades, most have not yielded any conclusive results. We still have only a vague notion about the process of language acquisition. There is, however, one enclave within the field that has been successfully involved with empirical research for many years: *testing*. Testing is at the heart of research with its emphasis on the statistical analysis of test data. Most of the research in language testing has dealt with test reliability or test validity. ***Reliability*** concerns whether or not a test is consistent in measuring the same performance, and *validity* is concerned with whether or not a test is measuring what it is supposed to measure. Both of these criteria have been developed in the field of psychometrics, and they are not unique to language testing research (Clark, 13; Lado, 53; Valette, 92).

More recently, research in language testing has extended to other areas of interest that have to do not only with testing per se, but with the whole concept of language acquisition. Oller (65) suggests three important areas of interest. "First, we may examine language tests *qua* tests; second, we may investigate learner characteristics using language tests as elicitation devices; third, we may focus attention on hypotheses about psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic constraints of various sorts on verbal sequences using language tests as research tools" (p. 145).

Most language teachers probably do not fancy themselves as researchers, but with a little bit of know-how and effort they can benefit greatly from analyzing their tests. A massive amount of valuable data is generated with every language test, but unfortunately, most of it ends up in the waste basket. Clark (16) encourages language teachers to become familiar with research methods and terminology not only to improve their own work, but to understand better what others are doing. Teachers can ignore the jargon and put their efforts into understanding what the statistics really mean.

Experiments in Cloze testing have dominated much of the research in language testing during the past few years (Aitken, 1; Berkoff, 3; Chihara et al., 11; Evans and Haastrup, 21; Hanzeli, 33; Hinofotis, 37; Hisma, 38; Oller, 63, 65, 66; Porter, 71; Stubbs and Tucker, 88). The Cloze procedure has been shown to be an efficient, valid, and reliable method of measuring language proficiency. Hinofotis (37) stresses the efficiency of the Cloze procedure as well as its validity in measuring general language ability. In an experiment conducted at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, 107 nonnative speakers of English were given a fifty-item Cloze test along with the TOEFL, the SIU English placement test, and an FSI-type oral interview. Although the latter three are time-consuming to administer and score, a Cloze test can be administered and scored in a relatively short time. The Cloze test was scored using both the exact word as well as the acceptable word method. It correlated with the TOEFL at .71, with the CESL test at .80, and with the oral interview at .60. The low correlation with the speaking test would suggest that speaking proficiency cannot be predicted by a test of over-all proficiency as well as the other skills. Hinofotis concludes that the Cloze test could, in many cases, be substituted for the more costly testing procedures without substantial loss of information.

Hanzeli (33) points out that the Cloze procedure not only is a suitable measure of global language proficiency and easy to administer, but also has high statistical reliability. In an experiment conducted in 1975 at the University of Washington, a Cloze test was given to 107 students of French at five different levels as part of the final examination. All papers were scored independently by four raters, and correlations among the raters were all .94 or higher.

Garcia-Zamor and Krowitz (26) concede that the Cloze test is an integrative measure of language ability, but emphasize that it does not test performance in communicative situations; thus its validity as a predictive measure is doubtful. They also feel that the irritation associated with the procedure may be a source of interference.

Berkoff (3) has experimented with the Cloze procedure as a diagnostic test. By carefully examining the words that were replaced in the blanks—both correct and incorrect—he was able to determine areas of strength and weakness. He feels that it has good potential for learning about language acquisition.

An area of research that needs careful scrutiny is that of language test validation. Most studies use another language test which is assumed to be a priori valid or has previously been validated by using still another test as a control. Corder (17) suggests that "the only way of breaking out of this circularity is to base the validity of our tests on the best current understanding of what is meant by 'knowledge of language' " (p. 357). In spite of all the validity studies, we are still rather uncertain about what our language tests are really measuring.

Tester training

One advantage of a multiple-choice test is that it can be administered and scored by someone who does not know the language and is not highly trained in test evaluation. In performance testing on the other hand, the scorer is the whole key to success. Experience outside language testing has proven that it is possible to train scorers to make accurate and consistent judgments about human performance. The examples that most of us are familiar with are diving and ice-skating competitions. The judges look for important cues, and match these against their absolute model of perfection. Jones (47) suggests how testers of oral language proficiency can be trained, using calibrated tapes and detailed instructions. Clark (15) has had extensive experience training testers in the Peace Corps through the use of a set of printed instructions and recorded materials. Testers participate in a two-day training session, then return periodically for maintenance training.

The greatest need at the present time for improved testing of communication skills is to define the important criteria for evaluation, and then prepare materials for classroom teachers on how to administer and score tests based on these criteria. A standarized multiple-choice test can be mailed to several testing sites, administered by different people, returned to the point of origin, and scored with high reliability. The matter is not quite so simple with a test such as the FSI Oral Interview. The test itself does not exist in a vacuum—it only becomes realized with each administration. In order to achieve high reliability each tester must become sensitized to a standard procedure of administering and scoring the interview. This involves workshops and constant recalibration. The cost is high, but if it is important for students to learn to speak the foreign language, it is necessary to invest the time and money to test them properly.

Where do we go from here?

As language testing moves closer to the goals of language teaching, we can identify several areas that deserve special emphasis. The first of these is the need for more research and development in performance tests of communication. Even as students are developing communicative competence in the classroom, they are still taking paper-and-pencil tests to demonstrate their competence. The profession will have to devote more resources to finding valid ways of testing students in situations that approximate real language conditions.

Teachers also need to become more familiar with what their colleagues are doing with language testing. Information about successful methods of testing the communication skills need to be shared. Jones (49) is presently conducting a survey of current activity in language testing research and development. Questionnaires have been sent to more than a thousand language teachers throughout the world, and information thus far received indicates that there is a great deal of imagination and creativity being invested in language tests. The data collected from this survey will be collated and made available to the profession.

One area of language testing that needs special attention is the testing of proficiency at the higher levels. Most language tests are designed to test very basic ability and thus do not discriminate well at the higher levels. As more and more students spend time living in a foreign country, we must develop testing instruments that are more sensitive to their proficiency. By the same token we must not be deceived by students who appear to be fluent in the language only because they have not been properly tested. It is possible to learn enough of the language to "sound" like a native speaker, yet still have room for improvement.

In the area of research, more attention must be paid to criterion validation. Although it will be expensive, a criterion measure must be devised that will come as close as possible to true language use. The use of grades, teachers' evaluations, and other "validated" tests is not sufficient. Stevenson (87) also makes a stong case for more research in the area of construct validation. We need to know exactly what is being tested besides the language.

In general, the consciousness of the profession must be raised with regard to language testing. We still harbor old fears, prejudices, and ignorance about a tool that can only be of benefit to us. We must become more familiar with terminology and procedures in language testing, so that we are more effective in seeking and understanding the feedback that testing can provide. We do not want to harass and threaten our students by constantly giving them tests, but they deserve to know how well they are learning and what they need to do to improve.

Summary

1 Language testing must be an integral component of any foreign language program. It should relate closely to the objectives of the program so that students are tested on what they practice in the classroom.

2 Although language testing during the past few decades has been concerned primarily with measuring only linguistic knowledge, more consideration is now being given to performance testing of communicative competence. Pragmatic communication is being stressed in the classroom, and tests of practical language use are increasing.

3 Testing of listening and reading proficiency are very common today, principally because they are easily written using a multiple-choice format. Tests of speaking and writing, although less common, are receiving more attention in the classroom. Tests which measure over-all language proficiency are being experimented with for possible use in admission, placement, and general achievement testing.

4 Nonlinguistic aspects of communication need to be incorporated into tests of communicative competence. Students need to learn how the people of a culture communicate and interpret cultural and social information. As a speaker becomes more proficient in a second language, more is expected of him in terms of his social and cultural behavior.

5 Research in language testing has moved from a principal focus on validity and reliability to include important psycholinguistic aspects of second language acquisition. Language testing research can provide the language teacher not only with data about tests, but also about the process of language learning.

6 Areas within language testing that need special consideration are: more emphasis on the development of valid tests of communicative competence; the development of training materials for administering and scoring performance language tests; better dissemination of information about successful methods of testing foreign language proficiency; more concern for criterion validity; and methods for testing at the higher levels of language proficiency.

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Assessing attitudinal outcomes

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Introduction

The history of foreign language education is replete with the names of approaches, techniques, concepts, and concerns that at one time or another have enjoyed widespread currency—the new key approach, the direct method, compensatory instruction, individualized instruction, behavioral objectives, career education, LAPs, aptitude, achievement, and humanistic education, to name but a few. Taken in perspective, these and other focal points of attention have contributed to the professional growth for which foreign language teachers are justly proud—or should be (Jarvis, 56, 57). The objective observer, however, will be aware of the ambiguity and confusion that often surrounds the use of any given term by individual members of the profession. As various writers have pointed out (Disick, 26; Grittner, 45, 46; Jarvis, 55; Stern, 91), we often have espoused and applied new ideas somewhat faddishly and slavishly, without sufficient awareness of their essential nature or their advantages and disadvantages. The term *attitudes* and the concept of attitude measurement have not been immune to this tendency.

The difficulties inherent in attitude measurement have been aggravated by the relative scarcity of theoretical and methodological discussions in the

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professional literature specifically designed for the foreign language community. Most of the available information on the subject is to be found in the literature of social psychology, a literature that often presupposes such background knowledge and sophistication in inferential statistics and research methodology as to render it relatively inaccessible to the foreign language teacher whose professional preparation has not included such training. While such writers as Quinn (76) have quite properly advised against the uncritical borrowing and applying of theory and concepts from other disciplines, extrapolation does seem reasonable in this case—it is, after all, our colleagues in social psychology who have developed and refined the standard approaches to the definition and measurement of attitudes. Indeed, responsible borrowing is already in evidence (e.g., Cooke, 18, 19). The present chapter responds further to the needs of the foreign language profession for clarification and guidance in the area of attitude measurement by distilling pertinent information from the literature of social psychology.

When attempting to measure a phenomenon, it is important that the "measurer" have a reasonably clear notion as to the nature of the "measuree." Therefore, this chapter begins with some theoretical definitions of attitudes, including various assumptions that underlie most approaches to attitude measurement, followed by a brief review of the directions and findings of attitude research in foreign language education. Several common procedures for measuring attitudes are then discussed and illustrated, and some methodological considerations fundamental to attitude measurement are presented. Guidelines are suggested for the selection of appropriate procedures for given purposes, the identification of specific instruments for specific research situations, and the construction of original measures for situations in which no appropriate one is available. Finally, both predictions and suggestions are offered with respect to future roles of attitude measurement in foreign language education.

Definitions and characteristics of attitudes

The frequent use of the term *attitude* in everyday language masks its complexity as a scientific construct. In point of fact, the study of attitudes has been one of the major concerns of social psychology for some six decades, almost as long as social psychology itself has existed as a separate discipline within psychology (Greenwald, Brock, and Ostrom, 44; Sahakian, 81). Furthermore, interest in attitude theory, measurement, and change shows no sign of abatement, judging from the recent dates on many contributions to the already voluminous professional literature on the subject, and from Sahakian's unequivocal statement that attitude change is one of the three major areas of exploration for contemporary social psychology (81, p. 8). Finally, the history of attitude research is characterized by considerable disagreement about the nature and functions of attitudes. Witness, for example, the observation made by Campbell (8) in 1950 that "the disagreement about the construct [attitude] implicit in the tremendous diversity of conceptual definitions is in strong contrast to the agreement implicit in the rather universal acceptance of the operational definition of the term" (paraphrased by Shaw and Wright, 87, p. 14). Lemon (63), in his excellent review of the nature and measurement of attitudes in the social sciences, points out that even as early as the 1920s "the term had acquired a myriad of definitions and uses, and the gap between definition and measurement had become very large" (p. 2).

Most attitude theorists do seem to agree that the term *attitude* refers to some aspect(s) of an individual's response to a given social object or class of social objects (e.g., "the United Nations," "the church," "war," "foreigners," or "studying a foreign language"). It has also been generally agreed that this response can be considered in terms of three components: one's *beliefs* about the object, the degree of positive or negative *affect* or *feeling* one holds toward it, and one's actual *behavior* towards it (Lemon, 63; Shaw and Wright, 87). Fishbein and Ajzen (35) suggest a fourth component, i.e., one's behavioral *intentions* with respect to the object. Most attitude theorists also agree that attitudes are *learned* (and thus can be changed), and that they are relatively *stable* or *enduring* (Fishbein and Ajzen, 35; Lemon, 63; Shaw and Wright, 87). Thus, one would anticipate little overt disagreement among social scientists with definitions like the following:

> Attitude entails an existing predisposition to respond to social objects which, in interaction with situational and other dispositional variables, guides and directs the overt behavior of the individual (Shaw and Wright, 87, p. 2, paraphrasing Cardno, 11).

> . . . attitude can be described as a learned predisposition to respond in a consistently favorable or unfavorable manner with respect to a given object (Fishbein and Ajzen, 35, p. 6).

Fishbein and Ajzen point out, however, that such consensus "does not eliminate the existing disagreements among attitude researchers. It merely serves to obscure the disagreements by providing a description with multiple interpretations" (35, p. 6). Some of these disagreements concern identifying *which* components of one's response to a social object should be included under the rubric of "attitude." Both Fishbein and Ajzen (35) and Shaw and Wright (87) suggest that the term *attitude* should be applied to only the *affective* component. Thus, Shaw and Wright offer this definition of attitude:

> A relatively enduring system of evaluative, affective reactions based

> upon and reflecting the evaluative concepts or beliefs which have been learned about the characteristics of a social object or class of social objects (p. 3).

Similarly, and thinking ahead to measurement considerations, Fishbein and Ajzen suggest that "consistent with Thurstone's (93) position, attitude may be conceptualized as the amount of affect for or against some object" (35, p. 11). As they point out, such a definition is implicit in most attitude scales, which typically arrive at a single number to represent the degree of positive or negative feeling toward the object(s) in question. Since attitude so defined is an abstraction, it cannot be directly measured and must be inferred from the beliefs one holds or the behaviors one exhibits with respect to the given social object. Nevertheless, this limited definition of attitude is intuitively appealing and seems to be relatively close to the everyday use of the term. It will therefore be assumed throughout the remainder of this chapter that the term *attitude* refers only and specifically to *the amount of positive or negative affect that one holds toward a specific social object or class of social objects.*

It should be noted that disagreements among attitude theorists go far beyond the question of which components to include in a definition of attitude, and deal largely with questions of theory, such as how attitudes are formed, how they influence behavior, and how they can be changed (see Fishbein, 34; Fishbein and Ajzen, 35; Lemon, 63; Shaw and Wright, 87). Fishbein and Ajzen (35) is especially recommended as an excellent and readable overview and introduction to the theory and measurement of attitudes.

Attitude research in foreign language education

An obvious consideration for those who measure attitudes and attempt to relate them to other variables—and paradoxically, a consideration that seems quite frequently to be overlooked—is the question, "Attitude toward *what?*" Discussions of the relationship between "attitude" and "achievement," for example, can be relatively meaningless if it is not clear *which* attitudes are being related to achievement, i.e., whether they are attitudes toward learning a foreign language, attitudes toward aspects of a specific foreign language class, or attitudes toward anyone or anything that is different from the familiar and accepted. (Of course, one must also specify how "achievement" has been defined and measured in a given study.) In foreign language education, the "what" of attitude measurement has tended to be either attitude toward the target peoples or attitude toward the study of foreign languages, either in general or in specific situations.

Attitude and achievement

When foreign language educators speak of "attitude" it is often in the context of "achievement": it is assumed to imply attitudes toward the learning of the target language and/or toward its native speakers. Writers working under these assumptions investigate and/or discuss whether attitude affects achievement or vice versa (e.g., Chihara and Oller, 15; Gardner and Lambert, 39; Jakobovits, 53; Savignon, 83). Such questions, although obviously important ones, are not directly relevant to the theme of the current volume. Interested readers are referred to Hancock (50) for a review of relevant literature through 1971. For more recent discussions, see Frechette, 37; Gardner, Ginsberg, and Smythe, 38; Gardner, Smythe, Clément, and Gliksman, 40; Oller, 68; and Schumann, 84.

It should be noted in passing, however, that not all of the concerns discussed in this literature fit the definition of attitude adopted in this chapter. Specifically, much of the work of Gardner and Lambert and their associates (38, 39, 40) has focused upon different types of *motivation*, i.e., "integrative" versus "instrumental" motivation. While research into the various motives that students may hold for studying foreign languages and their possible relation to achievement is obviously of considerable interest and importance to foreign language educators, it should be noted that motives and attitudes are not unanimously considered to be the same thing in social psychology. Although some theorists do claim that attitudes have motivational properties of their own, driving people to respond to social objects in given ways (Lemon, 63), others point out that attitudes simply refer "to the probability that a given motive (and its accompanying drive) may be elicited" (Shaw and Wright, 87, p. 5). Fishbein and Ajzen (35) further suggest that the performance of a given behavior with respect to an object is usually a function not of one's attitude alone, but also of one's behavioral intentions toward that object, and that these intentions are influenced not only by one's attitude toward the object but also by one's beliefs and attitudes regarding the behavior itself. Thus it may be useful in future reporting to make a distinction between *attitude* toward the study of a foreign language and the type and intensity of *motivation* for engaging in such study.

Attitudes as outcome variables

As evidenced by the present volume, as well as by previous publications (e.g., Dobrian, 27; Jakobovits, 53; D. Jarvis, 54; G. Jarvis, 56, 57; Landry, 62; Lett, 64; Lippman, 66; McCarthy, 67; Rivers, 78; Savaiano, 82; Tucker and Lambert, 96; Turner, 98; Twaddell, 99), there is a growing interest in hypothesized nonlinguistic outcomes of foreign language study. Among these outcomes are attitudes toward specific target peoples and cultures, and the particular negative attitude (or cluster of attitudes) known as ethnocentrism (for reviews of the considerable literature regarding the definition and measurement of ethnocentrism, see Gilfilan, 41; and Lett, 64). Compared to the literature in other areas of foreign language education, relatively little research has been reported with respect to the effects of foreign language study on attitudes. Some of the studies that do appear will be discussed in connection with specific measurement techniques useful in the study of attitudes.

Standard approaches to the measurement of attitudes

As mentioned earlier, attitudes cannot be directly observed but must be inferred from an individual's beliefs about the attitude referent or from one's actual behavior with respect to it. Given the rather widespread recognition that knowledge of an individual's attitudes alone is a relatively poor predictor of specific behaviors (for excellent discussions of this point see Edwards, 30, and Fishbein and Ajzen, 35, Chapter 8), most attitude measures tend to be attempts at ascertaining the kinds of beliefs held by individuals with respect to the social objects in question. This is most typically done by presenting the respondent with a series of verbal propositions or statements, and by inviting him or her to agree or disagree with each one. The respondent's attitude is then inferred from the statements with which he or she agreed. (Parenthetically, it may logically be objected that indicating one's agreement or disagreement is in itself a behavior; however, such *verbal* behavior has been found to be much more useful in attitude research than the nonverbal behavior usually implied by the term *behavior.*

Fishbein (32) suggests that a person's attitude toward a given object be defined as the sum of the products of his or her *beliefs* about the object and the implicit *evaluations* he or she associates with those beliefs (Fishbein and Ajzen, 35, p. 29). Thus, Fishbein's approach to attitude measurement is to have the respondent indicate both the degree to which a given belief is accepted (i.e., the probability he or she accepts that a given object is associated with a given attribute) and how positively or negatively that attribute is viewed (Fishbein, 31, 32, discussed in Fishbein and Ajzen, 35, p. 86). It should be noted, however, that most attitude scales are constructed with the assumption that the scale constructor can identify a priori both positively and negatively valued beliefs, and that these evaluations coincide with those of the respondent. Thus the statements are in essence assigned an evaluation of +1 or −1, and the respondent's attitude is inferred as described above. Specific guidelines regarding the selection of statements for attitude scales are available in standard texts on attitude measurement, and are summarized in appropriate sections below.

Among the many specific approaches to the measurement of attitudes, three of the more popular are the *social distance scale,* the *semantic differen-*

tial, and the *Likert-type scale.* Each of these techniques is discussed in some detail below; for other techniques, the reader is referred to any standard reference work on scaling and measurement or on attitude measurement in particular, such as Edwards (30) or Fishbein (34).

The Social Distance Scale

The Bogardus Social Distance Scale, introduced by Bogardus (6) in 1925, represents one of the earliest attempts to measure attitudes scientifically (Campbell, 9; Sahakian, 81). Campbell states in his review of the test that it is also "probably the most used single test of social attitudes" (p. 150).

The purpose of the test is to arrive at a score, or index, of the social distance at which a respondent would hold members of a given target group. To arrive at this index, the respondent is asked to indicate the categories of social contact to which he or she would admit members of the target race or nationality (or other relevant social grouping). Typically, the categories are presented in columns and the group(s) that are to be rated constitute the rows. This format, along with the original instructions and category descriptions, is illustrated in Table 1.

Note that it is assumed—and research has tended to confirm this assumption—that inclusion in any given category implies inclusion in all categories that lie to the right of it. For example, a respondent who would admit a member of the target group to his street as a neighbor would be likely to accept that member as a fellow worker, a fellow citizen, and a visitor to his country as well. As Campbell points out (9), this aspect of the Bogardus scale makes it an example of the scaling procedure introduced by Guttman some twenty years later and known as Guttman Scale Analysis (Guttman, 49) or as "scalogram analysis" (Edwards, 30).

The social distance score for a given respondent with respect to a given target group is calculated by counting the categories from left to right from which he or she would *exclude* members of the target group. Thus the minimum social distance score would be 0, indicating maximum acceptance, and the maximum social distance score would be 6, indicating exclusion from all six categories of social contact. To calculate the average social distance for a group of respondents, e.g., a class of foreign language students, the responses of the individuals in the class are summed and averaged, yielding a mean social distance index for that collection of individuals toward members of the given target group.

In order to use the social distance scale in classroom settings, one can modify the category descriptions in an effort to make them more relevant to school-age respondents. One such modification was carried out by Cooke (20) in her study attempting to discover techniques for developing more positive attitudes toward native speakers of Spanish. She also reversed the order in which the categories were presented, reasoning that students would

TABLE 1.
Instructions and Format of Original Bogardus Social Distance Scale (6).

According to my first feeling reactions I would willingly admit members of each race (as a class, and not the best I have known, nor the worst members) to one or more of the classifications under which I have placed a cross (X).

	To close kinship by marriage	To my club as personal chums	To my street as neighbors	To employment in my occupation in my country	To citizenship in my country	As visitors only to my country	Would exclude from my country
Armenians							
. . . French							
. . . Mexicans							
. . . Welsh							

(Thirty-nine racial or ethnic groups were included in the original study.)

be more likely to give accurate self-report data under those conditions. The modified categories she used were:

—as a visitor to my country
—as a citizen of my country
—as a member of my church
—as a classmate in my school
—as a neighbor on my street
—as a member of my "crowd"
—into kinship by marriage (Cooke, 18).

It should be noted that the social distance scale, like all other self-report inventories, is potentially vulnerable to the extraneous and nonrandom sources of variance collectively known in psychometric literature as "response sets" (Cronbach, 23, 24), which are discussed in detail later in this chapter. These include the tendency to respond in a set pattern over a large number of responses, and a tendency to respond in ways that appear socially desirable to the respondent. Unfortunately, the social distance scale seems particularly susceptible to response tendencies induced by repeated responses within an identical format. However, Campbell (9) suggests that such response set is more of a problem when the social desirability scale "[involves] a large number of out-groups [and] is scored to get one general ethnocentrism or xenophobia score," but that response set problems "do not affect the more sociological use of the test for ranking social groups in popular favor" (p. 151). Thus it would seem appropriate to use the social desirability scale when attitudes toward specific groups are of interest, whether singly or in terms of the relative ranks of several groups, and to look to other techniques when measures of general ethnocentrism are desired.

The semantic differential

In 1952 Osgood (72) introduced the semantic differential as an instrument for the measurement of "meaning." The technique was further elaborated by Osgood and Suci (74) and received widespread exposure in Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum (75). Although the semantic differential was developed specifically to facilitate the substantive research being conducted by Osgood and his associates, i.e., identifying and quantifying the psychological meaning of concepts by placing them in multidimensional "semantic space," the technique has enjoyed extensive use as a method for measuring attitudes toward given concepts, specifically that subset of concepts that can be called "social objects." For an up-to-date and very readable summary of Osgood's fifteen years of research into the nature of "meaning," see Osgood (73).

The semantic differential consists of two components: one or more concepts to be rated (e.g., "school," "mother," "research," "the French language," "Spanish-speaking children") and a series of bipolar scales on which to rate each concept (e.g., "good-bad," "beautiful-ugly," "clean-dirty"). These bipolar adjectives are usually separated by seven steps; respondents indicate the extent to which they think the concept is associated with one adjective or the other by placing a check in the appropriate space. In typical format, each concept and its series of bipolar scales, usually anywhere from four to twenty pairs of adjectives, are placed on a separate page, as in Table 2. See Osgood et al. (75, pp. 80–84) for a more detailed discussion of format and for examples of typical instructions.

Some researchers have found that it facilitates the rating task if the steps are labeled with adverbs, usually "extremely-quite-slightly-neutral-slightly-quite-extremely" (Heise, 52; Wells and Smith, 102). In any case, the seven steps are numerically coded from +3 through 0 to −3, and a respondent's score for a given concept is the sum or average of his ratings of that concept

TABLE 2.
Typical Format for the Semantic Differential Scale.

good :_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____: bad
beautiful :_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____: ugly
kind :_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____: cruel
large :_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____: small
heavy :_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____: light
strong :_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____: weak
active :_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____: passive
sharp :_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____: dull
fast :_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____: slow

on the various scales. Parenthetically, as Carroll (12) points out, "the underlying rating scale technique is of course not new. Psychologists have been obtaining ratings of all sorts of things . . . for a long time. . . . What seems to be novel in the semantic differential is the explicit application of rating techniques to word meanings" (p. 62).

Obviously, the meaningfulness of such a summed or averaged score is a function of the specific scales that have been used to rate a given concept—and equally obviously, there is a theoretically infinite number of combinations of bipolar adjectives that could be used! In an effort to discover a smaller number of underlying dimensions that might meaningfully describe a larger number of adjective pairs, Osgood et al. (75) made use of a statistical procedure known as factor analysis (see Cattell, 13; Child, 16; and Kerlinger, 59, Chapter 37; for an introduction to factor analysis). Their factor analysis of fifty adjective pairs that were used by one hundred students to rate twenty concepts enabled them to group the adjectives into three major clusters, or factors, which they labeled evaluative (*E*), potency (*P*), and activity (*A*), by virtue of the types of adjective pairs that loaded highly on each factor. These factors have proved remarkably stable over the years (Heise, 52; Kerlinger, 59), reappearing in study after study. This accumulated support for the *E*, *P*, and *A* factors is all the more impressive when one considers that factors isolated and labeled in a given research situation often fail to be found in subsequent studies. There is, however, some doubt as to the degree to which the adjective pairs are in fact "bipolar"—see Green and Goldfried (43).

The adjectives used in Table 2 were taken from a list in Osgood et al. (75, p. 37) indicating the obtained loadings of fifty adjective pairs on each of the three factors. The first three pairs of adjectives are highly associated with the evaluative factor, the middle three with the potency factor, and the last three with the activity factor. In actual research practice adjective pairs from the three factors are randomly interspersed, and approximately one-half of the scales of each factor are usually reversed in polarity in an effort to control the response set, e.g., "bad-good" instead of "good-bad" (Kerlinger, 59; Osgood et al., 75). Osgood and his colleagues report empirical studies suggesting that the semantic differential may be surprisingly free from "central tendency" and "anchoring" effects (pp. 84–85). (These and other response sets are discussed later in this chapter.)

The semantic differential in attitude research. When scales representing two or more of the *E*, *P*, and *A* factors are included in a given application of a semantic differential, scores are summed and analyzed separately for each factor. However, because attitudes have been defined as being primarily concerned with the degree of one's positive or negative affect toward some social object, i.e., the direction and strength of one's evaluation of that object, attitude researchers have tended to use most frequently those adjective pairs that are associated with the evaluative factor. Therefore, in order to construct a semantic differential measure of attitude for a specific situation, the researcher first chooses one or more *concepts* relevant to his or her research interest—those that name the social object(s) involved. Second, the researcher identifies a number of *bipolar scales* (adjective pairs) that are clearly associated with the *E* factor and that also have some apparent relevance to the concept(s) to be rated. The concepts and scales are then presented and scored as discussed above. (See Chapter 3 of Osgood et al., 75, for more information on the construction and administration of the semantic differential.) Note that this procedure meets Fishbein and Ajzen's (35) criterial definition of an attitude measure in that the respondent "places the concept on a bipolar affective dimension" (p. 56). The fifteen adjective pairs found by Osgood et al. (75, p. 37) to load heavily on the *E* factor (above .70) and relatively low on the *P* and *A* factors are:

good-bad
beautiful-ugly
sweet-sour
clean-dirty
tasty-distasteful
valuable-worthless
kind-cruel
pleasant-unpleasant
bitter-sweet
happy-sad
sacred-profane
nice-awful
fragrant-foul
honest-dishonest
fair-unfair

Fishbein and Ajzen (35) point out other scales that usually appear to be related to the *E* factor, including "a subject's self-rating of liking for the object (e.g., *like-dislike*), of his favorability with respect to the object (e.g., *favorable-unfavorable, approve-disapprove*), and his evaluation of the object on a single *good-bad* scale" (p. 56). (Note that they caution *against* the use of single-response measures as indicants of attitudes, however.)

Behind the apparent simplicity of this process lie a number of serious considerations. For example, an adjective pair like "hard-soft" may be clearly associated with the *P* factor when applied to a concept like "my teacher," yet the same adjective pair may be more closely associated with the *E* factor when applied to a concept like "mother." For this and other reasons, researchers who are preparing semantic differentials for use in novel settings are advised to conduct their own factor analyses rather than to depend entirely upon the lists of adjectives and factor loadings referred to above—particularly if it is desirable to include certain adjective pairs not appearing in available lists (Kerlinger, 59). Furthermore, Heise (52) points out that "tailoring the [semantic differential] to a new content area requires a rigorous research design, and inexpensive substitutes can yield instruments which are distorted and, therefore, worse than worthless" (p. 421). Although Heise appears to be referring to more complex sociological applications than the relatively straightforward assessing of attitudes, the serious user of the semantic differential is nevertheless urged to consult sources such as Heise (51, 52) and Kerlinger (59) for detailed methodological considerations with respect to the construction and administration of semantic differential scales and the analysis of the resultant data. For an example of the development of a semantic differential for a specific foreign language research situation, see Cooke (18, 20).

Likert scales

Soon after the 1925 publication of Bogardus' scale (6) and a landmark article by Allport and Hartman (1), Thurstone began to contribute a number of important insights to the field of attitude measurement (Campbell, 9), including the "method of equal-appearing intervals" (Thurstone and Chave, 94). Although the Thurstone approach enjoyed widespread acceptance and prestige and is still employed by many contemporary researchers, the assumptions and requirements of this method make the construction of attitude scales a rather complex and laborious process. In a landmark monograph published in 1932, Likert (65) introduced a new method of attitude measurement that did not involve such rigorous assumptions and complex methods of construction, yet apparently yielded measurements equally as reliable as the Thurstone measures. With certain refinements over time, the Likert scale introduced in that monograph has become one of the most popular and widely used approaches to attitude measurement.

The Likert scale is rather elegantly simple, consisting of a number of statements expressing positively and negatively valued beliefs about a given social object. The respondent is asked to agree or disagree with each statement (or approve or disapprove) along a multipoint scale. While the number of steps varies (Likert himself used from two to five in the 1932 study), many contemporary researchers employ a seven-point scale, often excluding the midpoint in an attempt to increase variance among the respondents. The response alternatives are usually labeled, and often carry numbers as well to facilitate the rating process. One common format is illustrated in Table 3.

The response categories are usually coded for scoring purposes in such a way as to eliminate negative numbers (e.g., the +3 to −3 of Table 3 would be coded from 7 to 1, with the neutral 4 excluded), and the scoring is reversed for negatively valued statements. For example, if the statements

TABLE 3.
A Typical Format for the Presentation of Likert-type Scales.
(Items are from an ethnocentrism scale compiled by Lett, 64.)

Please read each statement carefully, and then circle the number that best describes how you feel. (The numbers are explained right above the statements.)

(CIRCLE ONE NUMBER ON EACH LINE)

	AGREE STRONGLY	AGREE MODERATELY	AGREE SLIGHTLY	DISAGREE SLIGHTLY	DISAGREE MODERATELY	DISAGREE STRONGLY
	+3	+2	+1	−1	−2	−3
1. We must be careful not to let too many foreigners into the country or they'll take over the place.	+3	+2	+1	−1	−2	−3
⋮						
16. Foreigners are all right in their place, but they carry it too far when they get too familiar with us.	+3	+2	+1	−1	−2	−3
⋮						
22. I think it would be neat if a foreigner married into my family.	+3	+2	+1	−1	−2	−3
⋮						
32. Foreigners should be allowed to migrate to America.	+3	+2	+1	−1	−2	−3

in Table 3 were scored so as to yield a measure of "attitude toward foreigners," and higher scores were to indicate more positive attitudes, then strong agreement with items 22 and 32 would be scored as 7, while strong agreement with items 1 and 16 would be scored as 1.

Note that the statements used in Likert-type scales vary from simple statements of belief associating an object with an attribute (e.g., "Foreigners are good people") to statements advocating a given course of action with respect to the social object (e.g., "Foreigners should be allowed to migrate to America"). In fact, sometimes the social object in question is not even mentioned: for example, in attempting to assess attitudes toward the construct "internationalism," Likert (65) included items such as, "We should be willing to fight for our country whether it is in the right or in the wrong," rather logically assuming that disagreement with such a statement would indicate a positive attitude toward "internationalism." While such statements deviate somewhat from the straightforward belief statements advocated by Fishbein and Ajzen (35), they are extremely common and vocated by Fishbein and Ajzen (35), they are extremely common and clearly in line with Likert's recommendations (65).

Regardless of the types of statements presented, it is assumed that the respondent's attitude toward the target social object can be inferred from the extent of his or her agreement or disagreement with those statements. This assumption, of course, implies two further assumptions alluded to earlier: first, that the scale constructor is able to choose or write statements that are clearly positive or negative with respect to the object, and second, that the statements will be similarly evaluated by the respondents. As Shaw and Wright (87) point out, "this may or may not be true for specific items, but the error should be small for the total set of statements" (p. 14). Reference is again made to the fact that Fishbein (31, 32) advocates measuring both the *strength* with which a belief is held and the *evaluation* that is placed upon the attribute in question (Fishbein and Ajzen, 35).

Construction of Likert scales. The procedure for constructing a Likert scale has become relatively standardized over the years, and has changed very little from Likert's original recommendations in 1932. The steps are summarized below.

1 *Item pool.* The social object in question is clearly identified and a pool of statements with respect to it is compiled. It is desirable to begin with a considerably larger number of statements than one wishes to include on the final scale, since many items will fail to perform adequately for a variety of reasons. Although acceptable Likert scales have been constructed with as few as five or ten items, many researchers would argue for twenty as a more desirable minimum.

Item characteristics. It is important that the items be statements of desired *behavior* (Likert, 65) or *assumed attributes*, and not statements of *fact.* For example, a statement such as "Germans drink a lot of beer and wine" can be agreed to as a matter of fact by any of four groups of respondents: those who like Germans and thoroughly approve of their drinking habits; those who like Germans but disapprove of their drinking habits; those who dislike Germans, either approving or disapproving of their drinking habits. Such an item would be at best useless and at worst misleading as a measure of attitude toward Germans, whereas a statement such as "The fact that Germans drink a lot of beer and wine just serves to illustrate their lack of moral standards" would be much more likely to discriminate between those who feel positively toward Germans and those who feel negatively toward them.

It is also important that items be clear and unambiguous, utilizing simple, straightforward vocabulary and syntax and avoiding sources of possible confusion such as double negatives. Furthermore, items should include only one point to avoid evoking contradictory responses on the part of the respondent. For example, the statement

"In order to preserve peace, the United States should abolish tariffs, enter the League of Nations, and maintain the largest army and navy in the world" (Likert, 65, p. 45) should be simplified by either eliminating two of the three parts or making three separate state ments.

Finally, the statements should be worded in such a way that agreement with half of them indicates a positive attitude toward the object in question, (e.g., "Russian people in general are probably just as honest as Americans"), and agreement with the other half indicates a negative attitude (e.g., "if we let Chinese people live in our communities, the standards of health might be lowered").

2 *Field test and item analysis.* The complete pool of items is then field tested with a sample of respondents, ideally a random sample of the same population for whom the final scale is intended, in order to select the best items for the final scale. It is very important that the field test population be similar to, if not drawn from, the ultimate target population, because the same collection of items may "hang together" for one collection of individuals and yet be unsatisfactory for another (Likert, 65).

Criteria for item retention. The criterion for selecting items for the final scale is the degree to which each item discriminates between high scorers and low scorers on the scale as a whole, or, put another way, the extent to which each item measures that which is being measured by the scale as a whole. The most common method for obtaining data on which to make such decisions is to conduct an item analysis in which scores on each item are correlated with scores on the total scale. The obtained item-total correlations may range from −1.00 through 0 to +1.00. Items are then listed in descending order of their correlations, keeping positively and negatively scored items in separate columns. If a twenty-item scale is desired, the top ten items from each list are retained for the final scale, assuming that all twenty items have performed adequately in the item analysis. In practice, item-total correlations of .40 or above are considered acceptable. A large negative correlation usually indicates that the item was scored incorrectly, i.e., that the "1" and "7" positions should be reversed. A small negative correlation, like a small positive correlation, simply means that the item has practically no discriminatory power with that group of respondents, or that it is measuring something other than what the scale as a whole is measuring. It must be emphasized, as Likert (65) did in his original monograph, that "no matter for what a priori reasons the experimenter may consider a statement to belong on a scale, if the statement, when tried on a group, does not measure what the rest of the statements measure, there is no justification for keeping that statement in the battery. After all, we are interested in measuring the attitudes of the members of the group, not those of the experimenter" (p. 49).

Computational options. In order to arrive at the item-total correlations, access to a computer is almost a necessity, for the amount of time required to compute thirty or forty correlations by hand, even with a calculator, is rather formidable. An alternative procedure for those who do not have computer access is to calculate the average score on each item for the highest and lowest scorers—say the upper and lower 25 percent—and subtract the latter from the former. The greater the difference, the more discriminatory power the item has exhibited with that collection of respondents. (A sizable negative difference using this procedure should be interpreted in the manner that was suggested for large negative correlations in the preceding procedure.) Items can be ranked in two columns as before for the selection of final scale items.

Regardless of which procedure is used, the researcher should not be unduly alarmed to find that the negatively scored items seem to discriminate less well than do the positively scored ones. This phenomenon, although not completely understood, is reported with considerable frequency (e.g., Beswick and Hills, 4; Chapman and Campbell, 14; Lett, 64; Warr, Faust, and Harrison, 101).

3 *Reliability.* Finally, the over-all reliability of the scale should be assessed, using one or more of the methods discussed below. The most appropriate index of reliability for Likert-type scales is Cronbach's (22) *coefficient alpha.* It can be easily calculated from the output of most Likert-type scale item analysis computer programs (e.g., Johnson and McCabe, 58) by means of the basic formula (22, p. 299):

$$\text{Coefficient alpha} = \frac{\underline{a}}{\underline{a}-1}\left(1 - \frac{\Sigma Vi}{\Sigma Vt}\right)$$

where a is the number of items on the scale, ΣVi is the sum of the individual item variances, and ΣVt is the variance of the scale as a whole.

Basic considerations in attitude measurement

Fundamental to the construction and use of any measurement device are the concepts of reliability and validity. Self-report attitude instruments are further subject to the problems of various sources of systematic variance other than that which the instrument is designed to measure, chief among them being the tendency to respond in ways that appear socially desirable and the tendency to follow a set pattern in one's responses. Thus there are tendencies to agree with statements regardless of their content, to favor the right- or left-hand columns of a semantic differential, or to favor extreme response positions in general. These considerations are discussed briefly below; for more detailed discussions the reader is referred to general reference works in measurement and the considerable psychological literature on response sets.

Reliability

Reliability can be defined in terms of *dependability, accuracy,* and *error of measurement* (Kerlinger, 59). An instrument that consistently yields the same scores when the same object is measured by the same individual or group of individuals, and that comes very close to indicating the "true" scores (i.e., contains very little error of measurement) is said to be reliable. In statistical parlance, "the reliability of any set of measurements is logically defined as the proportion of their variance that is true variance" (Guilford and Fruchter, 48, p. 397). Assuming no variability in scoring procedures, as is true for the attitude measures discussed in this chapter (as opposed to an essay test or an interview by a psychiatrist, in which cases the value judgments of the scorer affect the obtained scores), the major factors affecting reliability may be considered in terms of three questions:

1 Are the individual items likely to be reliable, or are they vague, complex, and double-barreled statements that are likely to elicit different responses depending on how they are interpreted?
2 Does the instrument contain enough items so as to minimize the likelihood that a respondent's score is a function of chance or of factors specific to an individual item?
3 Do all the items tend to measure the same thing, or in other words is the instrument internally consistent?

Among the standard approaches to assessing the reliability of a given instrument are the test-retest approach, yielding an *index of stability,* and various measures of *internal consistency,* including the split-half method and a number of approaches based on the intercorrelations of all the items on the test, or scale.

Stability. The test-retest is one of the easiest ways to approach the estimation of reliability. As the name implies, the researcher simply re-administers the instrument to the same group of respondents after a given time interval. The sets of scores obtained on the two occasions are then correlated with each other, yielding a *coefficient of stability.*

This approach has certain advantages, including the fact that the researcher who lacks the resources to actually compute the correlation coefficient between the two sets of scores can at least "eyeball" the data for a rough indication of the extent to which each individual is consistent in his or her obtained scores from the first administration of the scale to the second. Obvious disadvantages include the fact that respondents' performance on the second administration may be affected by their having previously responded to the same items, and/or by their having changed in relevant ways during the interval. For these reasons, many researchers prefer to use one or more of the measures of internal consistency.

Internal consistency. All the measures of internal consistency have in common the fact that the reliability index is arrived at after a single administration of the instrument, thus avoiding the major problems associated with the test-retest method. In the split-half approach, the researcher administers the complete scale to all respondents and then splits the test in half and correlates scores on one half with the scores on the other. This practice is often referred to as the odd-even approach because of the tendency to obtain the two halves by pitting the odd-numbered items against the even-numbered items. Regardless of how the halves are obtained, this procedure actually produces a correlation coefficient between two tests each half as long as the original. Therefore, since reliability is in part a function of the number of items, split-half reliability indexes are customarily adjusted upward by means of the Spearman-Brown formula (for a discussion of this procedure see Guilford and Fruchter, 48, or any other basic statistics text).

While it is generally preferred over the test-retest approach, the split-half approach also has its disadvantages. One source of dissatisfaction is the obvious fact that a test or scale could be split into a great many different halves, and that the various pairs of halves so obtained might yield somewhat different estimates of test reliability when correlated (Guilford and Fruchter, 48). The well-known Kuder-Richardson formulas for test reliability (61, 77) avoid this problem by utilizing information about all items simultaneously, i.e., by analyzing the obtained variances of all items and of the test as a whole. While their Formula 20 is the most accurate for dichotomous data (e.g., tests in which respondents' answers are counted "right" or "wrong"), the KR-20 is not suitable for use with multipoint scales such as Likert-type scales. The appropriate index is Cronbach's (22) previously discussed coefficient alpha, which is simply the more general formula of which KR-20 represents a special case.

Applicability of approaches. Not all approaches to attitude measurement are equally amenable to all types of reliability estimation. It would be difficult to apply a measure of internal consistency to the Bogardus Social Distance Scale, for to do so would imply the assumption that one's social distance for all national or ethnic groups included in the scale should be roughly equivalent—an assumption clearly contrary to the measure's purpose, which is precisely to discover *which* groups are allowed closer contact than which others. An exception to this admonition might be a Bogardus scale designed to measure "attitude toward native speakers of Spanish" in which various groups of Spanish speakers constituted the groups to be measured (e.g., Argentines, Bolivians, Chileans, Mexicans, etc.). However, arbitrary inclusion of ten to twenty such groups would almost certainly induce a response set (Campbell, 9), although the strength of such a set might be mitigated by extenuating circumstances such as deliberate attempts to influence the attitude of respondents to certain of the groups. In general, it would seem that the test-retest approach might be the preferred method of estimating the reliability of a social distance scale.

The semantic differential, on the other hand, would seem to lend itself well to the internal consistency approach. For example, a semantic differential composed of one concept, e.g., "native speakers of Italian," to be rated on, say, fifteen adjective pairs highly associated with the evaluative dimension, could be considered somewhat analogous to a series of fifteen Likert-type statements (or, more accurately, to thirty such items: an adjective pair like "clean-dirty" would require two statements on a Likert scale, i.e., "Italians are clean" and "Italians are dirty"). Thus, considering each bipolar scale as one item, coefficient alpha could be calculated as a reliability estimate.

Of course, the test-retest method can also be used with the semantic differential; indeed, test-retest reliabilities are the kind reported by Osgood et al. (75). This approach may be particularly desirable when there are a number of concepts to be rated. In such a case the likelihood of subjects' remembering responses from the first administration to the second may be somewhat reduced.

As previously discussed, Cronbach's coefficient alpha is unquestionably the preferred estimate of reliability for Likert-type scales.

Validity

Happily, as Fishbein and Ajzen (35) point out, "there is abundant evidence that standard attitude scales are highly reliable" (p. 108). Reliability is only half the cake, however: it is of little comfort to know that one is measuring something reliably if a scale is intended to measure one thing and instead is measuring quite another! This is the crux of the question of validity—a question that is all too frequently glossed over or even ignored. The question of validity is a crucial one in attitude research, particularly when one purports to measure a construct such as ethnocentrism, which might more properly be viewed as a collection of attitudes or even a generalized personality trait.

One approach to validity requires little work on the part of the researcher: known as *face validity*, it simply means, "Well, it certainly *seems* as though this instrument is measuring what it should!" While face validity is a point of departure, and occasionally seems to be both appropriate and sufficient, additional attempts to confirm validity are desirable. These include *concurrent, predictive,* and *convergent* validity on the one hand, and *construct* validity on the other.

Concurrent, predictive, and convergent validity. Concurrent validity is said to be demonstrated when a new measure of a construct correlates well with one or more existing measures of the same construct whose reliability and validity are already established. In attitude research, when the measures are of different types (e.g., a Likert scale, a semantic differential, and a Thurstone equal-appearing intervals scale), such concurrent validity is often referred to as *convergent* validity (Fishbein and Ajzen, 35). When the new measure is correlated with some behavior that occurs later in time, one is said to be assessing the *predictive* validity of the measure.

Unfortunately, these approaches to the estimation of validity are likely to be of relatively little usefulness to foreign language teachers who wish to engage in attitude research: in the first place, if a valid and reliable instrument already exists for a given research purpose, it is pointless to try to develop another, all other things being equal. Secondly, knowledge of attitude alone has been found to be a relatively unreliable way to predict specific behaviors—one may hold a positive attitude toward speakers of German and still avoid them at parties if one is shy and speaks very little German to boot (see Fishbein and Ajzen, 35, pp. 15–16, and Osgood et al., 75, p. 198, for theoretical discussions of this point). Thus, when it becomes necessary to create a new instrument for a specific research situation, it is usually desirable to attempt in some way to demonstrate *construct* validity, which Kerlinger (59) has characterized as "probably the most important form of validity from the scientific research point of view" (p. 457).

Construct validity. Construct validity is set apart from other kinds of validity by its "preoccupation with theory . . . and with scientific empirical inquiry involving the testing of hypothesized relationships" (Kerlinger, 59, pp. 461-62). In essence, to demonstrate construct validity for a new measure the researcher first attempts to identify a number of variables that are theoretically likely to be associated with the variable under study, and then empirically tests the hypothesized relationships. One way to undertake this procedure is to take measurements on the one or more correlated constructs simultaneously with the measurement involving the unproven scale. For example, there is abundant theoretical and empirical evidence suggesting that ethnocentrism is somewhat related to dogmatism, or closedmindedness, as defined by Rokeach (80). Therefore, in an attempt to validate a new measure of ethnocentrism the researcher might administer it simultaneously with Rokeach's Dogmatism Scale (80), a scale whose reliability and validity are fairly well substantiated in the literature (e.g., Vacchiano, Strauss, and Hochman, 100). Similarly, if the literature on ethnocentrism indicates the likelihood that ethnocentrism is associated with such variables as intelligence and socioeconomic status, then data might be collected on those variables as well, and specific hypotheses concerning the relationship of these measures to the new measure of ethnocentrism would be tested. Of course, the reliability and validity of the methods of assessing the concomitant variables should be well established, as well as their relationship to the attitudinal construct in question.

A second approach to construct validity is the popular method referred to as the "known groups" approach. In it the researcher first identifies two or more groups who are "known" to differ predictably on the variable being measured by the new instrument, or who can at least be theoretically expected to differ in predictable ways. The instrument is then administered to samples of such groups to see if the scores it yields can clearly and significantly discriminate among the groups in the predicted ways. Assume, for example, that an experimental measure of prejudicial attitudes toward blacks is to be validated. The researcher might identify a group of Ku Klux Klan members and a group of members of the local chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union and administer the experimental measure to members of both groups, under the reasonable and theoretically sound assumptions that the two groups should differ predictably in their attitudes toward blacks and that the new scale should be able to discriminate clearly between them.

When a number of such empirical tests—correlational and/or known-groups—consistently yield the predicted results, the new measure can be said to have demonstrated satisfactory construct validity.

It should be noted that many attitude measures of interest to foreign language educators possess a considerable amount of *face* validity when constructed and administered properly, especially those utilizing the social distance scale and the semantic differential, since their categories and bipolar scales have been fairly well defined. In Likert scaling, however, a greater amount of flexibility exists with respect to the writing of items that constitute new scales, and it is in Likert scaling, therefore, that the problem of validity is of greatest concern, particularly when such scales are used to assess higher-level constructs such as ethnocentrism. The popularity of such constructs as "cultural awareness" and "appreciation of cultural diversity" among the alleged nonlinguistic outcomes of foreign language study makes it likely that new measures will emerge as more research is done in those areas; such instruments will need to be carefully validated, whether they purport to measure the construct positively (e.g., "valuing diversity") or negatively (e.g., "ethnocentrism").

Response sets

Although the types, characteristics, and even the existence of response sets is by no means a settled matter (Wiggins, 103), it seems appropriate to discuss two of the most frequently suspected culprits in attitude research: social desirability response bias and a tendency to favor given response positions—e.g., to favor the center, the extremes, and/or a given direction on a semantic differential (often referred to as "central tendency" or "anchoring" tendencies), or consistently to agree or disagree with statements on a Likert-type scale, regardless of item content (acquiescence response bias). Both kinds of response styles appear to be potentially operative to one extent or another in attitude measurement (e.g., Couch and Keniston, 21; Cronbach, 23, 24; Ford and Meisels, 36; Sigall and Page, 88; Wiggins, 103).

Fortunately some routine procedures exist to reduce or at least estimate the contributions of response sets to attitude scores.

Social desirability. Many factors may influence the extent to which respondents give answers they perceive to be socially desirable rather than answers that indicate their "true" attitude. Two of these factors are the degree of threat inherent in the testing situation (i.e., the perceived danger that undesirable responses will lead to unpleasant consequences for the respondent) and the extent to which respondents are willing or unwilling participants in the research effort.

The most common approach to minimizing the perceived threat is to guarantee anonymity to the respondents. A clear and reasonable explanation of the purpose of the research and the use to which responses will be put can also reduce anxiety and "guessing games." Such information should appear in some form on the measuring instrument itself. (For an excellent example of such printed explanations, see Appendix C in Bachman et al., 3; for an example of the adaptation of those explanations to an attitude study in foreign language education, see Appendix C in Lett, 64.) The extent to which such explanations will put at ease the minds of the respondents is in part dependent upon, the credibility of the researcher. Therefore, when the researcher is also the classroom teacher, the nature of student/teacher rapport will be an additional factor in determining the perceived threat and the over-all atmosphere during the testing situation.

Although there may be occasions when providing complete and explicit information regarding the purpose of the study might tend to bias results, a credible explanation can always be given in terms specific enough to allay anxiety yet general enough to avoid jeopardizing the research. Besides, it is probably safe to assume that when the measures described in this chapter are employed, respondents are very much aware of what is being surveyed. It is recommended that the researcher honor the respondents as intelligent and responsible human beings by explaining clearly why their coooperation is being requested in the research effort. In addition to being in line with the "humanizing" movement in both education and behavioral research, the provision of such explanations lends credibility to the researcher's guarantee that responses will indeed be anonymous and will in no way be used against the respondents.

Of course, no one should be coerced into participation in the testing session—such practice runs counter to current ethical standards, and would be likely to produce spurious data as well. Parenthetically, many universities and school systems have research review boards that consider all proposed research involving the use of human subjects. These boards may require that the informed consent of the respondent (or his or her parent or legal guardian) be obtained before the administration of any experimental measure. Local practice in this regard should be investigated before conducting attitude research.

Some attitude researchers advocate the use of deliberately "disguised" techniques—i.e., measures that conceal from the respondent the true purpose of the instrument—as a means of reducing the effects of social desirability response bias and other factors that may lead respondents to falsify their answers. While some of these techniques do appear to have some utility in attitude measurement, there is considerable doubt about the reliability and validity of many of them (Campbell, 8; Fishbein and Ajzen, 35; Sechrest, 86; Shaw and Wright, 87). Furthermore, as Fishbein and Ajzen (35) point out, the practice of misleading respondents has been criticized in light of recent concern with the ethics of psychological research.

Some researchers routinely include a "lie scale" or social desirability scale as part of their research instrument in an effort to estimate the extent to which a given subject is likely to be responding to social desirability considerations in his answers. Two such instruments are the Crowne-Marlowe Social Desirability Scale (25), and the Edwards Social Desirability Scale (29), which may be found with other methodological scales in Robinson and Shaver (79). When social desirability scale items are included in the test battery, a social desirability score is calculated for each respondent. These scores are then correlated with the remaining items on the test. Those items that correlate highly with the social desirability score are sometimes dismissed from consideration in calculating the attitude score; alternatively, the scores on those items may be adjusted in the less socially desirable direction for those respondents who show a high social desirability score (see Smith, 89, for an example). It should be noted that neither social desirability scale is without its critics, and that susceptibility to social desirability constraints is a theoretical personality variable that has been the subject of considerable study in its own right (see Robinson and Shaver, 79, pp. 723–24, for an introduction to that literature). See also Ford and Meisels (36) for a different methodological approach in their investigation of the relationship between social desirability and the evaluative dimension of the semantic differential.

As Fishbein (33) has pointed out, however, it may not always be desirable to eliminate social desirability from attitude scores, particularly if the ultimate goal is to help predict probable behavior toward the social object(s) in question: Just as an individual's responses to questionnaire items may be affected by the perceived social desirability of the response options, so is the likelihood that one will *behave* in certain ways a function in part of the perceived social desirability of the *behaviors* in question.

Other response styles. The various response styles related to position preferences are customarily controlled to some extent by varying the way items are presented to the respondent, i.e., by reversing the polarity of half the adjective pairs on a semantic differential or by writing half the statements on a Likert-type scale in such a way that agreement with them indicates negative rather than positive affect toward the social object, or the absence rather than the presence of a construct such as ethnocentrism. While these procedures do not eradicate the effects of response sets, there is abundant evidence that they do provide some control over them. For more reading regarding various approaches to the control of response sets, see Edwards, (28, 29); Guilford, (47); and Scott, (85).

Finally, the obtaining of nonspurious data can be facilitated a great deal by careful attention to the physical design of the testing instrument itself. For suggestions along that line, plus a host of other helpful hints guaranteed to make life easier for the paper-and-pencil researcher, see Babbie (2).

While some researchers are more concerned than others about the effects of response sets and other threats to the validity of attitude research findings, such problems should be considered in perspective. It appears to this writer that in view of the accumulated evidence attesting to the validity of many attitude measures, and given anonymity and a nonthreatening testing atmosphere, it is reasonable to assume that sufficient true variance can be obtained as to permit the testing of hypotheses in carefully designed research situations. This is not to say, of course, that research practices should not be subjected to careful and continous scrutiny. For a critical review of attitude research in foreign language education and an example of an empirical approach to such scrutiny, see Oller (68, 70) and Oller and Perkins (71).

Selecting instruments for specific research projects

In designing a specific study in which attitudes are to be measured, a major concern is the location or construction of a valid and reliable instrument. Whereas in some cases the nature of the instruments already available may determine the approach to attitude measurement that will be used, in others the researcher may be able to choose between two or more measures of the same attitude. In still other instances it may be necessary or desirable to construct a new instrument, in which case the choice of format is a necessary consideration. The following guidelines concern the use of social distance scales, semantic differentials, and Likert-type scales in attitude research in foreign language education.

The *Bogardus Social Distance Scale* appears to be useful in obtaining an index of positive or negative feeling toward any specific group or groups, whether singly or in combination. Thus a Bogardus scale might be employed in assessing the extent to which certain teaching practices are related to the feelings students hold with regard to the target peoples (see Cooke, 20, for an example of this usage). The social distance scale is relatively easy to prepare, once one has modified the categories to fit the audience, and it is easy to score. Note, however, Campbell's (9) previously cited advice *against* the use of the social distance scale with a large number of groups as a measure of general ethnocentrism.

The *semantic differential* is an extremely versatile instrument useful in many research situations. Methodological concerns notwithstanding, judicious use of the known and logically relevant evaluative-factor adjective pairs should provide the basis for obtaining reasonably straightforward indications of attitude toward any social object, whether that object is the name of a national group, a subject like "being able to speak more than one language," or the specific components of a given foreign language class. (See Osgood et al., 75, pp. 192–98, for a discussion of the semantic differential as a generalized attitude scale and a comparison of it with Thurstone and Guttman scaling methods.) Semantic differentials are easy to prepare, take little time to administer (Osgood and his colleagues estimate that college students make ten to twenty judgments per minute), and can be quickly scored by using cardboard cutouts for scales of each polarity.

The semantic differential could also be used to yield a measure of general ethnocentrism by including as concepts a number of "outgroups" (see Sumner, 92) and varying the position and polarity of the bipolar scales across concepts to control response set. As previously mentioned, Osgood et al. (75) report empirical studies suggesting that the semantic differential is remarkably free from "central tendency" or "anchoring" effects.

The *Likert scale* requires more preparation than either the social distance scale or the semantic differential: the major portion of the latter two instruments consists of categories of acceptance or adjective pairs which are both readily accessible and rather firmly established, whereas the statements comprising the item pool for Likert-type scales must be generated for each object to which it is desirable to measure attitudes—a task considerably more difficult than appears at first blush. Therefore, in view of the demonstrated suitability of the social distance scale and the semantic differential as instruments for assessing the direction and extent of affect toward specific groups or other social objects, the creation of new Likert scales for those purposes may not be the best use of the researcher's time.

On the other hand, well-constructed and properly validated Likert scales seem to be the preferred technique for assessing attitude clusters or personality traits such as general ethnocentrism. It must be emphasized again, however, that it is all too easy to collect misleading data by writing or using items that are statements of fact rather than statements of desired behavior or of perceived attributes; such statements are *not* valid indicators of attitude. Some of the items on widely disseminated scales seem questionable in this respect, e.g., "French-speaking people have produced outstanding artists and writers" (item number 4 of the "French Attitude Scale" included in the "Foreign Language Attitude Questionnaire" reproduced in Jakobovits, 53, p. 263). Of course, the ultimate fate of a Likert scale item should be determined empirically by the performance of the statement in item analysis and by the validity of the scale as a whole.

The importance of including an equal number of positively and negatively scored statements must also be emphasized, as well as the need to subject new scales to rigorous tests of validity. The latter is especially important when personality traits rather than simple attitudes are to be inferred from scale responses.

In summary, the Likert scale may be viewed as a powerful and sophisticated research tool, but one that is probably more susceptible to being badly constructed and/or misused in practice than the other instruments discussed.

Use of existing measures

Regardless of the type scale to be employed, and especially if a construct such as ethnocentrism is to be studied, the researcher is strongly urged to seek out already existing instruments for which reliability and validity estimates are available. The use of a pre-existing measure is advised not only to free the researcher to concentrate on other aspects of the study, but also because a major obstacle to over-all progress in attitude research is the proliferation of attitude instruments that are created—often haphazardly—for one research situation and are never used again. On the other hand, the reliability, validity, and appropriateness of a given instrument should not be assumed solely on the basis of its popularity: as Chun et al. (17) point out, popular instruments often tend to be used repeatedly more because of their convenience than their value as measuring instruments (p. v).

An excellent point of departure in the search for an appropriate instrument is provided by Chun et al. (17), who offers a bibliographic guide to 3,000 scales and their applications, and by Robinson and Shaver (79) and Shaw and Wright (87), who present and discuss 127 and 176 scales, respectively. If the desired instrument is not found there, a systematic review of *Psychological Abstracts, Dissertation Abstracts,* or the ERIC data base may be helpful. Computerized information searches are available through ERIC and through many universities as well. Those particularly interested in measures of ethnocentrism are referred to Beswick and Hills (4, 5), Lett (64) and Warr et al. (101) for recently constructed, balanced ethnocentrism scales. For a critical review of the research tradition that spawned such scales, see Kirscht and Dillehay (60).

Finally, the formats and characteristics of two or more scales may be combined for a given research situation. For example, the questionnaire illustrated in Table 4 was designed by Boylan (7) to yield attitudinal information regarding a specific foreign language course and its components. Although resembling a Likert Scale in appearance, the kinds of behaviors in which respondents engage make the Boylan scale similar to a semantic differential in which the items constitute the concepts, each of which is rated on a single bipolar scale. Since it is not, strictly speaking, the *concept* that is being rated on each bipolar scale but rather the respondent's *reaction* to that concept, this hybrid instrument actually illustrates a very straightfor-

TABLE 4.
A "Hybrid" Scale Evaluating Attitude
Toward Selected Course Components (Boylan, 7).

This part of the questionnaire asks you to indicate the extent to which you *react positively* or *negativeiy* to specific aspects of Spanish 105.

Please read each statement carefully, and then circle the number that best describes how you feel. (An explanation of the numbers is right above the items.)

(CIRCLE ONE NUMBER ON EACH LINE)

STRONGLY POSITIVE	MODERATELY POSITIVE	SLIGHTLY POSITIVE	SLIGHTLY NEGATIVE	MODERATELY NEGATIVE	STRONGLY NEGATIVE
+3	+2	+1	−1	−2	−3

1. Communicating in small groups.	+3	+2	+1	−1	−2	−3
. . .						
14. Being able to rewrite compositions.	+3	+2	+1	−1	−2	−3
. . .						
30. The extent to which my instructor encourages me to think for myself.	+3	+2	+1	−1	−2	−3
. . .						
36. Listening to each other's oral presentations.	+3	+2	+1	−1	−2	−3
. . .						
65. The total classroom atmosphere.	+3	+2	+1	−1	−2	−3

ward method for obtaining indications of both the direction and the intensity of attitudes toward the course components. When item scores are summed, it yields an index of over-all attitude toward the course as well.

Attitude measurement and foreign language education: A look toward the future

Attitude research seems likely to play an increasingly important role in foreign language education. In this section both predictions and suggestions are offered regarding the directions research might take.

Major research areas

There are two major areas of research in which the ability to measure attitudes reliably and validly is of fundamental concern: one is continuing assessment of the relationships between attitude and foreign language achievement, and the other is assessing attitudinal outcomes and the effects of deliberate attempts to modify ethnocentric attitudes or to foster more positive attitudes toward cultural diversity in general.

Recommendations. With regard to the first area, two suggestions seem in order: first, it must constantly be kept in mind that "attitude" is not a single variable—when the relationships between attitude and achievement are discussed, one must always ask, "Attitude toward *what?*" Second, it is extremely desirable that the early correlations approach to research in this area (e.g., Gardner and Lambert, 39) be supplemented by experimental, quasi-experimental, or longitudinal approaches. In the meantime, caution should be exercised in the interpretation of existing findings—the inference of casuality from correlational data is at best a risky business, even when accompanied by strong theoretical expectation and the ability to rule out the most likely rival hypotheses both theoretically and empirically. More studies are needed in which the attitudes of students *prior* to foreign language study are compared with their foreign language achievement *after* a given period of instruction (e.g., Savignon, 83). Although still correlational, such studies may help to suggest more clearly whether casual relationships exist between the two sets of variables, and if so, whether attitudes affect achievement, achievement affects attitudes, or whether they influence each other in a reciprocal relationship.

The longitudinal research being conducted in Canada by researchers such as Gardner, Lambert, Tucker, and their associates (38, 40, 95, 96, 97) should prove to be of increasing interest in this regard. It must be remembered, however, that attitudes are affected by a great many variables, and that attitudes formed in a bilingual situation may have very little in common with those formed in a monolingual environment. Thus, the kind of research described here must be replicated with foreign language students living in monolingual communities if we wish to obtain accurate information about the latter group.

Equal care must be exercised in investigating alleged attitudinal outcomes of foreign language study. The fact that a collection of foreign language students may exhibit less ethnocentrism than a collection of nonforeign language students may be attributable to relevant differences between the groups of students that existed before any of them had an opportunity to study foreign languages, and that helped to determine which students would study foreign language and which would not. Experimental research might help rule out some of these rival hypotheses. For example, the researcher might identify a group of students who do not ordinarily have the opportunity to study a foreign language—perhaps seventh-graders in schools that do not offer foreign languages until the eighth grade. Half of these students could be randomly chosen to receive a regular first-year foreign language course. Although such a course should not be forced upon them, given appropriate counseling most students would probably agree to take it. Attitudes of the entire group would then be assessed both prior to instruction and after one or two semesters had passed.

Good research may be relatively easy to conduct with respect to deliberate attempts to modify attitudes in foreign language students. Since such research has no need of non-foreign-language students, the populations of interest already exist in our classrooms. The fundamental questions of research design are still to be considered, of course (see Campbell and Stanley, 10; Fishbein and Azjen, 35, pp. 114–27; Kerlinger, 59).

The role of the classroom teacher

The advancement of knowledge is a cumulative phenomenon, and is not the domain of any select group of individuals. Thus, while it is true that the foreign language education profession stands to gain immensely by the application of more rigorously scientific research procedures, professional researchers are by no means the only people capable of generating knowledge. On the contrary, the thousands of teachers who staff foreign language classrooms every day constitute a group of professionals with the potential to make enormously rich contributions. Their daily contact with students provides them with unique opportunities to engage in research activity, and they are urged to take advantage of them. From the many bits and pieces of knowledge that can be generated in a hundred or a thousand mini-studies conducted by classroom teachers, a meaningful picture can emerge.

At the same time, the untrained researcher is urged to seek the advice of competent personnel in designing, conducting, and interpreting research studies. Such individuals are not limited to university campuses or federal agencies, but can also be found in state departments of public instruction, the central offices of many local school systems, and often among the faculties of local schools.

Dissemination and integration of research findings

Much of the intrinsic value of research lies untapped if findings are not shared with others—the "meaningful picture" mentioned above cannot materialize unless scholars have access to the many studies which contribute to it, nor can classroom teachers profit fully from the knowledge generated by themselves and their colleagues. Therefore, a central clearing house for the accumulation and storage of research data is needed. The ERIC system seems highly suitable for this purpose, in that both preliminary findings and research data (e.g., the scores obtained on experimental measures) could be entered into the ERIC system with a minimum of effort on the part of the researcher—considerably less effort than is required to prepare an article for a professional journal. The various studies and data bases relative to a given topic of interest would thus be readily available to the research community.

Such a policy would greatly facilitate the carrying out of what Glass (42) and his associates have named "meta-analysis" of research, i.e., "the statistical analysis of a large collection of analysis results from individual studies for the purpose of integrating the findings" (p. 3). Glass points out that the extraction of knowledge from the vast number of studies that have been done on many topics has become a crucial concern in educational research, and educational researchers now "find ourselves in the mildly embarassing position of knowing less than we have proven" (p. 8). Unfortunately, he also states, financial support tends to be awarded to original research rather than to the scholarly integration of existing findings. It is to be hoped that the picture will change over the years—and that foreign language education can be among the first to profit from Glass's methodological suggestions regarding ways to integrate meaningfully large numbers of research findings.

Summary

1 The theoretical and empirical study of attitudes and attitude change has long been a major concern of social psychology. The quality of attitude research in foreign language education is likely to continue to improve only as more researchers become acquainted with appropriate segments of the literature of social psychology.

2 The term *attitude* represents a complex scientific construct—the frequency of the term in everyday usage masks the diversity of its conceptual definitions. The analysis and synthesis of attitude research in foreign language education can be greatly facilitated by agreement upon a common definition. One that is both manageable and intuitively satisfying is: *the amount of positive or negative affect that one holds toward a specific social object or class of social objects.*

3 Such a definition encourages the researcher to include in his or her report a clear answer to the question, "Attitude toward *what?*" It can also help clarify the similarities and differences between *attitude* and *motivation* and between *attitudes* and *personality traits*—distinctions often blurred by the fact that all four types of constructs are frequently estimated on the basis of subjects' responses on self-report questionnaires.

4 Three standard approaches to attitude measurement are the *Bogardus Social Distance Scale*, the *semantic differential*, and the *Likert scale*, each characterized by a particular format and a certain set of assumptions. These characteristics, along with considerations specific to the research

situation, should be taken into account in selecting the most appropriate instrument(s) for a given study.

5 In addition to choosing the most appropriate scale format, the researcher should make every effort to locate existing instruments. Only as a given attitude scale is repeatedly administered, evaluated, and refined can increased confidence be placed in the findings that emerge from its use. Furthermore, the use of an established and respected measure can free the researcher to concentrate on other aspects of his or her study.

6 Regardless of whether the measure to be used is a new or existing one, its reliability and validity should be investigated. While this is more obviously true with newly created instruments, it applies equally to well-known scales—the frequency with which a given measure has been used is not necessarily an indication of its worth, or of its appropriateness for a given research application. Particular attention should be given to the validation of Likert-type scales.

7 As in most areas of educational research, the efforts of both professional researchers and classroom teachers are needed in attitude research. The latter have a unique opportunity to engage in meaningful research activity, and are encouraged to take advantage of it, seeking the advice of the former as needed.

8 Given current interest in the possible relationships between attitudes and foreign language achievement, and in alleged nonlinguistic outcomes of foreign language study, it seems likely that more and more attitude studies will be conducted in foreign language education. It is desirable that this research include longitudinal, quasi-experimental, and experimental studies to supplement and extend the valuable correlational studies that have already been done. Caution should be exercised in the interpretation of research data, particularly with respect to the inference of casual relationships among variables.

9 In order that knowledge generated by many individual research efforts be of maximum value to the profession, it is recommended that a central clearing house such as the ERIC system be utilized for the accumulation and storage of research data, and that the scholarly integration of disparate findings into a meaningful whole be encouraged in every way possible.

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